THE [a]FVRY OF WARRE, AND [b]FOLLY OF SINNE, (As an Incentive to it) declared and applyed.

FOR

Caution and Remedy against the Miſchiefe and Miſery of both.

Ex dono IN Authoris

A SERMON Preached at St. *Margarets Weſtminſter*, before the Honourable Houſe of COMMONS, at their late ſolemne and publike FAST, *April* 26. 1643.

By *Iohn Ley* Miniſter of Great *Budworth* in *Cheſhiere*.

a { *O thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thy ſelfe into thy ſcabbard, reſt and be ſtill,* Jer. 47. 6.

Meritò in terra homini non gloria, ſed pax eſt quærenda, pax cum Deo, pax cum proximo, pax cum ſcipto, *Bernard* in feſt. omnium Sanctorum, *Serm.* 5. *col.* 297.

b { *And* Samuel *ſaid to* Saul, *thou haſt done fooliſhly; thou haſt not kept the Commandement of the Lord thy God, which he commanded thee,* 1 Sam. 13. 13.

Omnes ſtulti mali ſunt, *Senec.* de Benefic. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15.
Humilis res eſt ſtultitia, abjecta, ſordida, ſervilis, multis affectibus, & ſæviſſimis ſubjecta: Hos tam graves dominos, interdum alternis vicibus, imperantes dimittit a te ſapientia, quæ ſola libertas eſt. *Idem. Epiſt. lib.* 5 *ep.* 37.

LONDON, Printed by *G. M.* for *Chriſtopher Meredith* at the Signe of the Crane in *Pauls* Church-yard, 1643.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE HONOVRABLE HOVSE OF *COMMONS* Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

While I humbly offer that to the view, which I lately presented to the audience of your ever Honoured, and then sacred Assembly (both the preaching and publishing of it in print, being acts of due obedience to your commands; and I wish they were capable of titles of gratitude for your favours), it may be my lot, to have some passages of my Sermon, censoriously met withall, if not for any falsehood or fault in the matter, yet for some supposed incongruity *to the office of the Authour, and* with pretence *also of some biassed partiality, in the great differences of our most unhappily divided Kingdom (divided under those Names as some mistake, and misstate the question) which have best right, to the humblest reverence, and heartiest loyalty of all the Subjects of the Land:* which calumnie *if I cannot prevent, I may have hope to repell the assault of it, by such considerations as these: which I crave leave to tender to the touch of your* * *Lydian judgement, and in them to speake to you and of you to others, as the dictat of duty and discretion shall direct me.*

* *Lydius lapis* the touchstone, *Plin. nat. hist. l. 33. c 8.*

First, It cannot in equity or prudence be deemed an impertinency to our ministeriall profession, or an over-busie medling (in matters above, or besides our calling) to appeare apprehensive of our common perill, and to doe what lyeth within the fathome of our power, and the verg of our vocation, either for prevention of imminent, or for removall or mitigation of our present miseries.

And if we affected the praise of prudent silence, which the Prophet commendeth (as seasonable for evill times) Amos 5. 12. *I doe not see, how we*

could now obſerve it, being often required by our ſuperiours, to publiſh their minds and our own unto the people, in matters of ſecular concernement, and many times alſo (in private) deſired to ſatisfie their doubts, when they are called upon to give their aſſent and aſſiſtance in matters of great moment, for the publike welfare: And I thanke God, ſuch have ever beene the principles, which have ſet the deepeſt impreſſion upon my judgement and conſcience, and upon others likewiſe (by mine information) that, (to my knowledge) I have not *whiſpered any reſolution or adviee in theeare, Which I may not warrantably publiſh upon the houſe topps, as our bleſſed Saviour gave direction to his Diſciples,* Mat. 10. 27. *Nor have I breathed out any poſition or opinion, either in private or publike, for which I ſhould be unwilling to bleed or to dye.*

Secondly, For my loyall affection to his Majeſty, mine own heart tells me, I prize him as the dutifull ſubjects of David *did him (their Royall Soveraigne) when they valued his life* at ten thouſand of their owvn, 2 Sam. 18. 3. *and had rather my body ſhould be the ſheath of a two edged and poiſoned Sword, (as* * Lilloe's *was, when he ſtept betwixt the murtherer, and King* Edwine *his Maſter, to intercept the deadly thruſt intended and aimed at the heart of his Soveraigne) then conſent to lay any hands upon him, but as the Angells did upon* Lot, Gen. 19. 16. *for his deliverance from danger; in which caſe a loving violence hath more affinity with duty, then with diſobedience:* for a King (being a publike perſon) hath no power to diſpoſe of himſelfe *(for perillous adventure)* in ¶ reſpect, that to his preſervation or fall, the ſafety or wrack of the whole Common-weale is neceſſarily coupled, like as the body is to the head, *as his Majeſties learned Father, of famous memory, reſolved in caſe of duells: and though afterwards, ſpeaking of a juſt war, he counſelled the Prince (to whom he wrote)* * once or twice, in his own perſon, to hazard himſelfe fairely, (but afterwards, to conſerve himſelfe for the weale of his people; for whoſe ſake, he muſt be more carefull for himſelfe then for his own:) *I conceive the reaſon rendred for the ſecurity of his Royall Perſon is of force, not only againſt the perill of a ſingle combat, but of a ſociable Warre or ſet battell (eſpecially for hereafter) ſince his Majeſties courage and magnanimity is ſo well knowne, that his cautionary prudence can never come under the miſinterpretation of timerous cowardize; for avoidance whereof, his Royall Father gave advice for the adventure fore-mentioned.*

Thirdly, For the high Court of Parliament (Whereof your honourable Houſe of Commons is the Alpha *in order of proceeding) his Majeſty that*

* *Speeds Chrō. l. 7. c. 20. p. 300*

¶ *Baſil. Dor. l. 2. p. 165, 166.*

* *Ibidem.*

(that laſt was) hath taught me to know it, as the ¶ Kings head-Court; *and his Majeſty (that now is) advanced mine eſtimation of it, by his gracious acknowledgement,* † that often Parliaments, are the fitteſt meanes to keepe correſpondence betwixt him and his people, which he doth much deſire: || that it is impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt, without the affections of his people; and that thoſe affections cannot poſſibly be preſerved or made uſe of, but by Parliaments, that they cannot give the leaſt credit, or have the leaſt ſuſpition, that his Majeſty would choſe any other way to the happines he deſires to himſelf and his poſterity, but by Parliaments. *And it is raiſed yet higher, by his gracious acceptation of his Speech, who repreſented it to him,* as a moſt ſoveraigne remedy againſt all the diſtempers of this Nation: were they (* *ſaith he*) troubled at Sea, troubled at home, or invaded from abroad? here was the ſanctuary of refuge, hither was the reſort, and no other way found for a foundation of peace. *And for a returne of all loyall and affectionate obſervances to his Majeſty, on the Parliaments part, you with your right Honourable colleagues, have profeſſed your reſolution,* * to keepe your ſelves within the bounds of faithfullneſſe, and allegiance to his Royall Perſon and his Crownes; ¶ to provide for the publike peace and proſperity of his Majeſty and his Realmes; proteſting in the preſence of the all-ſeeing Deity, that it ſtill hath beene, and ſtill is the only end of all your counſells and endeavours, wherein you have reſolved to continue freed and enlarged from all private aimes, perſonall reſpects or paſſions whatſoever. *And your* * earneſt deſire of his Majeſties returne to *London,* that upon it you conceive depends the very ſafety and being of both his Kingdomes; and therefore you have proteſted you will be ready to ſay or doe any thing, (that may ſtand with the duty and honour of a Parliament) which may raiſe a mutuall confidence, betwixt his Majeſty and your ſelves as you doe wiſh, and the affaires of the Kingdome doe require. *And to the ſame purpoſe againe,* ¶ we intend (*ſay you*) to doe whatſoever is fit, to make up the unpleaſant breach betwixt his Majeſty and parliament.

By ſuch expreſſions as theſe (carrying moſt cleare and legible Characters of your Loyalty and Love to his Maieſty) you have righted your Reputations againſt all iuſt cauſe of ſuſpition of Popiſh tenets, or intentions againſt his Perſon and his Crowne; and have gained the beleefe of all good Subiects, that you ſpake in ſincerity, when you ſaid,

¶ *Ibidem.*

† His Majeſties Speech, *Ian.* 25. 1640.

|| His Majeſties anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, *Iunij* 17. 1642. p. 6.

*Mr. Speaker in his Speech to his Majeſty, *November* the 5. 1640.

* So in the Declaration of both Houſes, *March,* 12. 1642.

¶ The Parliaments ſecond Remonſtrance, *p.* 1.

* *Ibid* p. 11.

¶ *Ibid* p. 13.

* You suffered not such things to enter into your thoughts, as all the world knowes, the Papists have put into act: (*Whereof I shall shortly give instance in my other Sermons upon this Text, which some worthy Members of your Honourable Society have required to the Presse.*) *And so* (*upon confidence in your fidelity*) *have ingaged their affections, and all their Interests* (*both for the present and the future*) *under the conduct of your most prudent Counsels and commands, accounting it a most fickle unfaithfullnesse, and finally destructive to the foundation of our* English *Government, if they* (*who have voted your Election to places in Parliament*) *should upon any Malignant surmises against you, desert either their due obedience to you, or just and necessary defence of you, though with the hazard of their estates and persons.*

Against such assurance as you have given of your faithfull allegiance to his Majesty, your zealous Constancy in prosecution of a perfect Reformation of Court, City, and Country from prophaneneſse and Popery, importeth no colour of contradiction at all (*though some, whose condition most requires it, distast and desire to wrest it to some such misconstruction*) *but carrieth with it an exact conformity to what you have professed.*

For what better proofe of integrity in what you undertake, then your pressing to promote the prosperity of the King, as well as of the Kingdome? And what meanes more conducible unto that end then Religion and Justice? As S. Augustine *sheweth; where he saith,* * We account not Christian Emperours happy, because they have raigned long, or because they have had power to suppresse insurrections, or oppresse their enemies; nor because they have dyed a quiet death, and left their children to raigne after their decease: † But we call them happy, if they rule with justice, if among the tongues of those that too highly extoll them, or too humbly salute them, or too obsequiously serve them, they remember themselves to be but men, if they apply their power so, as to make it most serviceable to the honour of the divine Majesty, if they feare, and love and worship God, and more love that kingdome, where they need not feare competitors or consorts, then that, wherin they may be afraid of them—* If they so much more refraine from luxury, as (being without restraint of others) they may be more free unto it; and had rather raigne over evill concupiscence, then Countries and Nations. ¶ Such Christian Emperours (*saith he*) we call happy, *and happy*

* In the third Remonstrance or Declaration of the Parliament *May* 26. 1642. *fol.* 4.

* *Nec sic Christianos quosdam imperatores ideo felices dicimus, quia vel diutius imperarunt, &c.* Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 5. c. 24.

† *Sed felices eos dicimus, si juste imperarunt, si inter linguas sublimitèr honorantium, et obsequia, nimiùm humiliter salutantium non extolluntur, sed se hominem esse meminerunt, si suam potestatem, ad Dei cultum, &c.* Ibid.

* *Si luxu in tantò eis est cautior, quantò possit esse liberior: et malunt cupiditatibus gravia, quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare.* Ibidem.

¶ *Tales Chri-*

happy ſurely are the people, who are governed by ſuch an one, as ſo governeth himſelfe.

And for your zeale againſt the prevailing of Popery, and for the advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, it makes moſt for his Maieſties honour and ſafety: not only in reſpect of piety, but of policy, for that wiſe Statſman the Duke of Rohan, *in his Treatiſe of* the Intereſt of Princes and States, *makes his obſervation of the State of* England, *in theſe words* || Beſides the Intereſt which the King of *England* hath common with all Princes, he hath yet one particular, which is, that He ought throughly to acquire the advancement of the *Proteſtant Religion*, even with as much zeale, as the King of *Spain* appears *Protector* of the *Catholick*. *And what zeale that is, he hath ſhewed before in the* * Intereſt of *Spain*.

Notwithſtanding all this, there be ſome men, who (deeply guilty of deceit themſelves) will never be ſatisfied with any evidence of ſincerity in other men: with ſuch there is no ſecurity in the Prerogative of the King, nor the Priviledge of Parliament, againſt inurious traducement: ſince nothing beareth ſway with them, but their ſelf-conceit or particular advantage, or which is worſe, their virulent ſpleen againſt the better part, which ſtirreth them up to reproach *them, as tumultuary buſie-bodies, who doe but bring ſome buckets of water to quench a burning, which they have treacherouſly kindled againſt their own Country, and as confidently (and not more innocently) to cry* Sedition, Sedition *againſt the moſt loyall and true hearted Subjects of Royall Maieſty, as* Athaliah *did* Treaſon, Treaſon, 2 *Kin.* 11.14. *When Sedition is their raigning ſin, as treaſon was hers, and that the worſt Sedition of all others, for what can be worſe then that (and theirs is ſuch) which ſeparateth thoſe in iudgement, affection, and locall manſion, who (for the two firſt) ſhould alwaies and (for the third) ſhould very often be united together, viz. his Maieſty and Parliament.*

But this ſhould not ſo diſcourage a ſingle Subiect (much leſſe ſo many choice Patriots as make up your venerable number) as to with-draw or with-hold him from any devotion or endeavour, to which he is obliged (as a part of the publike) and he is more obliged in reaſon and conſcience to the united Intereſts of King and Parliament, then to any devided title of conteſtation betwixt them.

And for this your eminent example for untainted integrity, unquenchable fervency, inſuperable patience, indefatigable diligence and unwaunted reſolution in the purſuance of your excellent purpoſes (for the good

ſtianos imperatores dicimus eſſe ſatites. Ib.

|| The Duke of *Rohan* his Treatiſe of the Intereſt of Princes and States. p 58.

* *Ibid.* p 4. *ad nonam.*

good of Church and State) will be to others both a patterne of practice and a Buckler of Defence. The Lord God Almighty, be ſtill reſident in your venerable Senate, to guide *all your Conſultations to his owne glory, and the common ſafety both of his Maieſty, of your ſelves, and of the many Millions of people vertually compriſed in your* * Honourable paucity, *being (in equivalence) as a few peeces of gold, to many of ſilver, or of other inferiour Mettals, and* to guard *your perſons by his power and providence, from all deſtructive plots, and hurtfull miſhaps, that you may live to reape and enioy the ripe fruit of that Reformation, whoſe ſeed hath been ſowen in many teares of humiliation, both publike and private, which the enemies of Gods truth, and of the* Engliſh *State, would drowne in blood; which God forbid: So prayeth*

* Diaconos paucitas honorabiles fecit. *Hier. Epiſt. Oceano Tom. 2. p. 329.*

Your moſt humbly devoted

Servant in the Lord

Iohn Ley.

Errata.

Reader, Beſides ſome litterall errours which alter not the ſence, as *Ammon* for *Amnon*, *Eſa* for *Iſai*, *Egiptians* for *Egyptians*, Sabboth for Sabbath, *deiſcovered* for *diſcovered*, theſe following which are of ſome moment to the ſence are thus to be corrected;

P.3.l.26. reade the words betwixt *thereſore* and *when* in the next line as a parentheſes. *p.5.l.21.* for *the* read *this* *l.23.* for 2 *Sam.* 11.1. reade 1 *Sam* 11.7. *p.8.l.4.* from the end of the page after the word *Of*, adde *many*. *p.9. Lult.* after the word *be*, adde *ſo*. *p 14 l.17* for *him* read *them*. *p.28.* this marke " to be added to the three laſt lines, and to all the lines of *p.29.* as noting the *continuation* of the Speech. *p.29.l 12.* for *combuſtion* read *concertation*. And *l.ult.* for *confuſion* read *concuſſion*. *p.30.l.3.* from the bottome blot out the word *ſo*. *p.39. l.27.* after the word day, adde *and to the men of Iudah, &c. p.46.l.10.* after the word *them* adde the word *and*. *p.55.l.* penult. for *come* read *cometh*. *p.58.l.23.* for *at leaſt*, reade *or*. *p.40.l.14.* blot out the word *then*, and inſtead of it reade *from theſe*.

A SERMON PREACHED At a FAST before the Honourable House of COMMONS.

JEREMIAH, Chap. 4. Ver. 21, 22.

How long ſhall I ſee the Standard, and heare the ſound of the Trumpet?

For my People is fooliſh, they have not knowne me, they are ſottiſh Children, they have none underſtanding, they are wiſe to doe evill, but to doe good they have no knowledge.

AMong the manifold fallacies, which that great Sophiſter (who deceiveth the whole World, *Revel.* 12.9.) impoſeth upon people, of all times and States, there is none by which a greater number (with more apparent danger) are deluded (and therefore none more neceſſary to be diſcovered) then the miſtitling of morall qualifications of Vertue and vice: which is, as if an Apothecary ſhould write the name of a Medicine, upon a Gally-pot of poiſon, and contrariwiſe, the name of poiſon, upon an Antidote againſt it.

For ſo it is, where Wiſedome and Folly are mutually miſtaken, and miſcalled, as when they whom God approveth, and accepteth as truely wiſe, are (by thoſe who are not ſuch themſelves) accounted fooles, 1 *Cor.* 4. 10. 2 *Cor.* 11. 16, 17. or (as our Saviour Chriſt (though he were the wiſedome of God, 1 *Cor.* 1. 24. was intituled, *Iohn.* 10. 10.) Mad-men, and ſuch as are worthy of no better Titles then thoſe, are taken by themſelves, and ſometimes alſo by other men, to be the onely Wiſe-men of the World.

Againſt the latter part of this Impoſture, (as more neerely concerning our preſent condition) I ſhall endeavour to derive a remedy, out of theſe two Verſes read unto you, but eſpecially out of the latter of the two, and that remedy, will moſt conſiſt of the diſcovery of the deceit, and that diſcovery may (by Gods aſſiſtance) helpe forward our deliverance (which is the maine deſigne of this dayes worke) out of theſe diſtreſſes, which (by the malignant ſubtilty of the Popiſh party) are caſt upon two Kingdomes, *Ireland* and *England*: on that firſt, as a preparative to the ruine of this, and on this afterward, leſt it ſhould be a ſuccour, and reſtorative to that; and on both of them, by that confounding and deſtructive Engine, whereof the *Standard* and *Trumpet*, are the noted Enſignes, *verſ.* 21. Of them, (as in relation to Military miſchiefe) the Prophet puts the Queſtion, *How long ſhall I ſee the Standard, and heare the ſound of the Trumpet?* to which, the Anſwer is given by God himſelfe, in theſe words, *My people is fooliſh, they have not knowne me, they are ſottiſh children, they have none underſtanding, they are wiſe to doe evill, but to doe good they have no knowledge.*

First of the Queſtion, *How long ſhall I ſee the Standard, and heare the ſound of the Trumpet?* The vulgar Latine, and as many Commentators as obliege themſelves to it, reade

עַד־אָנָה אֶרְאֶה נֵס *quo videbo fugientem*, How long ſhall I ſee flying (*i.e.*) a Man, or the people flying before, or from the face of the Enemy, becauſe the ſame conſonants of the Hebrew word, thereafter as the pricks are varied, may ſignifie either flying or a thing lifted up, as a Standard is, *Iſa.*13.2. and *Chapt.*62.10. but the latter acception of the word (as our tranſlation hath it) hath better approbation of the beſt Interpreters, and it holds better accord with the ſound of the Trumpet, they being both of them monitory ſignes of military exerciſe and execution.

Neither the *Standard* (of it ſelfe) was an unpleaſing ſight, nor the blowing of the Trumpet, of any ill ſound, but both of them, were offenſive to any good man, (as intimating that unto his mind) which is very grievous to be ſeene, (*as garments rouled in blood*, Eſa.9.5.) and dolefull to be heard, (as the cryes and groanes of wounded or dying men,) and dreadfull too, as the *Allarme of the Trumpet*, Amos 3.6. *the confuſed noyſe of the Warriers*, noted in the fore-named 9th. and 5th. of *Eſa.* the noyſe of *ſtamping of the hoofes of ſtrong Horſes*, Jer.47.3. and (as it followeth in the next words) *the ruſhing of Chariots, and rumbling of wheeles*; that which is much more formidable then all this in our dayes, *viz.* (the horrid tune of our Martiall times) in the roaring, or thundering noyſe, of the great devouring Ordnance, was not found out in thoſe dayes.

And therefore, that is from the intimation forementioned, when the people are moſt terribly threatned, a *Standard* is ſaid *to be ſet up*, Jer.51.12. and a day of Warre-like wrath, and execution, is called *a day of the Trumpet and Allarme*, Zeph.1.16. Which importeth ſo lamentable a miſery, as made *Ieremy* (though a man not only of an holy, but of heroick ſpirit) thus to bewaile it. *My bowells, my bowells, I am pained at mine heart, mine heart maketh a noiſe within me, I cannot hold my peace:*

becauſe thou haſt heard, (O my ſoule) the ſound of the Trumpet, the Allarum of the warre, deſtruction upon deſtruction is cryed, for the Land is ſpoyled, ſodainely are my Tents ſpoyled, and my Curtaines in a moment, verſe 19, 20. And (in the next words) hee windes up his patheticall Compaſſion in this Queſtion, *How long ſhall I ſee the Standard? and heare the ſound of the Trumpet?*

As God is Lord of Hoſts and Armies, he both ſtirs and ſtops them, when he will: And ſo they are ſhorter or longer, as he thinkes good to draw them out or ſhut them up: He can ſet the *Alpha* of Alarum, and the *Omega* of retreat, as neare together, or as farr aſunder, as he is pleaſed to make the meaſure of their diſtance.

Some warres are begun and ended in a few moneths, ſuch an one might that have been (which God put to *Davids* choyce, which was meaſured to three months ſpace, 2 *Sam.*24.*v.*13. And ſuch was the Pirats warre, to which *Cn. Pompeius* (as *Auguſtine* obſerveth) put an end [a] *with incredible celerity, and ſhortneſſe of time*, which took up but a few moneths: as [b] *Oroſius* noteth.

Some are reckoned by yeares, and thoſe in much different proportions, as the warr made by the *Romans* (againſt the fugitive Fencers) laſted [c] *three yeares*; The third *Carthaginian* warre [d] *foure yeares*. The ſecond [e] *eighteene yeares*. The firſt [f] *twenty and three yeares*: The *Roman* warre with *Mithridates*, was drawne out to [g] *forty yeares*, and the *Samnits* warre to [h] *fiftie yeares*; ſo long had the warre (betwixt the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards* continued at the yeare, 1624. (as a [i] *French* Oratour hath given in the account) but it is much more which his Country-man [k] *Commineus* obſerveth of the warre betwixt the *Florentines* and the *Piſans* which exerciſed thoſe States *three hundred yeares together*.

Of this Warre (which put the Prophet into ſuch an affecti-

[a] *Incredibili celeritate et temporis brevitate confectum*, Aug. *de Civ. Dei l.* 5. *cap.* 22.
[b] *Intra paucos menſes.* Oroſius *l* 6.*c.*4.
[c] Aug *ubi ſup.*
[d] Oroſius *ibid. ubi ſupra.*
[e] Aug *ubi ſup.*
[f] Aug. *ibid.*
[g] Aug. *ibid.*
[h] Aug. *ibid.*
[i] *Balſack let l.* 3. *let.* 10.
[k] *Phil. Com Hiſt. lib.* 8 *c* 3.

affectionate affliction) the time is variouſly conjectured: It might ſeeme long, though it were but ſhort, becauſe the ſufferings under it were very ſharpe, but indeed the whole time of *Ieremiahs* Prophecying (which was about forty one yeares) was a time of great tribulation, by warr-like Commotions and miſeries under the raignes of *Ioſiah*, 2 *King*.23. *Iehojakim* and *Zedechiah* Kings of *Iudah*, 2 *King*.24. in whoſe dayes *Ieruſalem* was beſieged by the *Babylonians*, from the tenth day of the tenth month (in the ninth yeare of his raigne) to the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh yeare of it, 2 *King*. 25.1. upon that, followed the deſolation of the Temple, and City in the 3365. yeare of the world, and ſix hundred and ſix yeares before the Incarnation of Chriſt; and if he recounted all the calamities of warre in his time, he might very well enquire of their continuance, *How long?*

The Queſtion brought in by ſuch a paſſionate Preface (as you have heard out of *ver*.19. & 20.) will guide our thoughts, to a conſideration of the *evill of warre*, which made the Prophet to be ſo mournfull for it, and ſo weary of it. And for that evill (though in many places of the Kingdome) too many feele too much of it by reall diſtreſſe: It will not be needleſſe to ſay ſomewhat of it, by way of verball diſcourſe, that we may have ſuch a *compendium* of it in our minds and memories, as may ſet our hearts & hands againſt it, I ſay our hands, as well as our hearts; for warre is not alwayes to be taken up, by Treaties of peace, but peace ſometimes to be procured by and [1] alwayes to be intended in a proſecution of warre. And therefore when *David* queſtioned with *Vriah* concerning the beſieging of *Rabbah*, 2 Sam.11.1. He demanded *how* Joab *did*, *and how the people did, and how the warre proſpered*: So in our Engliſh Tranſlation; but according to the Hebrew reading, he asked him of *the peace of the warre*, that is, in

[1] *Ipſi qui bella volunt,--- ad glorioſam pacē bellando cupiunt pervenire---pacis igitur inventionē gerunt ur & bella* Aug. *l.*19. *de Civit. Dei cap.*12.

in what forwardneſſe the warre was for a peaceable concluſion.

The definition of warre (to beginne with that, though it be too unruly an evill, to be confined to bounds and limits, as he gives it, who hath written moſt exactly of it) is this [m] *Warre is the ſtate of them that ſtrive by force (as they are ſuch)* that is under the notion, and conſideration of forcible ſtriving againſt each other, or to ſpeake of it (as it hath proved in the experience of all ages, where the moſt Malignant men, have had the greateſt ſtroake in it) It is a wicked, and wretched compound of all ſorts of injuries, and miſeries of injuries committed by the ſtronger, of miſeries ſuſtained by the weaker part.

[m] *Bellum eſt ſtatus per vim certantium, qua tales ſunt*, Grotius *de jure belli, lib.* 1 *cap.* 1.

The name of it in Latine is of good ſound, for it is called *Bellum*, and of good ſence, for it ſignifieth good, and ſo it hath it's name by *Antiphraſis* (i.) from the quite contrary; for it is ſo farre from good indeed, (when wicked men are prevalent in it) that it is the worſt of evils, on this Hell; and therefore with a little alteration of letters, it might rather be termed *Belluinum*, belluine (*i.*) Brutiſh, then *Bellum* good, which Epithite moſt properly belongeth onely unto God, *Matth.*19.17. though (to ſay the truth) it be much worſe among men, then it is among the unreaſonable creatures: For the moſt of their quarrels, are but ſingle combats, for they ſeldome ſet themſelves in heards or droves, one againſt another, as men in troopes and numerous Armies. And as it brings with it a multitude of men; ſo doth it alſo a multitude of miſchiefs.

Where envie and ſtrife is (ſaith St. *Iames*) *there is confuſion, and every evill worke*, *Iam.*3.16. And this may be in ſome places, where there is no warre, for there may be a ſtriving of mentall emulation, or a meere logomachy of wordie contention, 2 *Tim.*6.4. without any hoſtile force, or

or violence at all; or if there be violence, it may fall out betwixt ſome few, who (by Law) may be judged, and by legall force (if they be injurious and tumultuous) ſuppreſſed: But the violence of warre (as the wicked, that are moſt addicted to it uſe the matter) is a lawleſſe and boundleſſe confuſion, ſuch as that complained of by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *The people ſhall be oppreſſed, every one by another, every one by his neighbour; The child ſhall behave himſelf proudly againſt the ancient, the baſe againſt the honourable*, Eſa. 3. 5. And by the Prophet *Ieremie*, *They that were brought up in ſcarlet, were brought downe to embrace the dung-hills*, Lament. 4. ver. 5. and a confuſion wherein ſuch as are not meetly qualified for ſervants, will take upon them to be Maſters (*ſervants ruled over us*, ſay the degraded Maſters of *Iſraell*, by way of complaint, *Lamen.* 5. 8.) and thoſe uſurping upſtarts, when they are ſo leud and diſſolute, as no good-man would willingly endure them to lodge a night in his houſe, will boiſterouſly breake open his doores, rifle all his Roomes, Cloſets, Cheſts, Caskets and Cabinets, and if he were as rich as *Iob* was in the height of his proſperity, they will make him as poore as *Iob*, in the depth of his adverſity, and much poorer too: For *Iob* had the goods in his houſe ſpared from ſpoyle or pillage (though he loſt all his corne and cattell in the field) whereas many, who carve out their owne portion of other mens goods, by the Sword, have not left the right owners, ſo much as a ragge to cover their nakedneſſe. So in the Country, and if they could advance to rifle ſome rich City, they that are not worthy to be truſted for a yard of Inkle, would come into Shops, and meaſure Velvet for themſelves, by the long Ell (that is by the Pike) take it away and pay nothing for it.

And their luſt will be as unruly as their theft, making no

* We will enter and meaſure with the long Ell, *Phil. Com. l.* 1. *c.* 11 *p.* 30. Upon which words the margin note is this, by the long Ell, he meaneth the Pike, wherewith Souldiers at the ſack of a Towne, uſe to meaſure velvets, ſilks and cloathes.

no ſcruple to commit a Rape upon a mans Wife or Daughter, or Maid-ſervant, and in that wickedneſſe have ſome been ſo impudent, as violently to bind the Husband to a Bed-poſt, while they abuſed his Wife before his face.

That was one part of the barbarous wrongs of the *Iriſh* Rebells, not long agoe committed as I have been confidently enformed by a Gentleman of good credit. And it is upon perpetuall record in ◦ *Walſinghams* Hiſtory of *England*, that ſuch an abominable filthy fact, as you may reade of (touching the *Levites* Concubine) *Iudg.* 19. was committed, in King *Edward* the thirds time upon a Holy-day at the time of Divine ſervice by *French* Souldiers, in a Church at *Winchelſey* in *Suſſex*, taking their luſtfull turns upon a beautifull woman, untill they had turned her out of the world.

◦ *Cum Franci applicuiſſent, exiſtimabatur multis tam viris, quam mulieribus, tempore miſſarum in Eccleſia, ad eandem Eccleſiam cum omni feſtinatione concurrerunt, & interficientes multos, & depredantes Eccleſiam, aſpexerunt (inter ceteras) quandam feminam pulchram nimis, & elegantis formæ, quæ cum vicinis convenerat ut audiret miſſas. Ad quam Nebulones ſatis intemperanter, in eadem Eccleſia accedentes, mox ſuæ libidini (ut erant armati, proſtraverunt etiam divei unus poſt aliam coeundo illuſerunt, donec mulier fatigata ſpiritum exhalaret.* Tho. Walſingham, Hiſt. Edw. 3. p. 166.

And commonly as thoſe three Commandements, *Thou ſhalt not kill, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, Thou ſhalt not ſteale* are ranked together in the Law, ſo are they violated together in the lawleſſe violence of Warre, and ſo you find them threatned together, in the 13. of *Iſaiah*. *Their children ſhall be daſhed in pieces before their eyes, their houſes ſpoiled, and their Wives raviſhed*, Iſa. 13. 16. and Maidens too, for that is complained of in the *Lament.* of *Ieremie*. Chap. 5. Ver. 11.

For thoſe that have but little wit and no grace, (which is the ordinary qualification of meere mercinary Souldiers) let looſe the reynes of their corruptions to all licentiouſneſſe, making ſo little account of the Lawes, as gave occaſion of the common Proverbe ℙ, *The noyſe of Warres*

ℙ *Inter arma ſilent Leges.*

Warres drowne the voice of Lawes, which are ſure to be trodden under foote, while the Sword of violence hath the upper-hand: with this accords the complaint of oppreſſed *Hieruſalem* in the *Lament.* of *Ieremie*, *The Law is no more*, *Lam.*2.9. no more in force, becauſe (by force) ſuffered to be no more in uſe: and when Lawes are huſh't, matters are hurried by a boiſterous prevalence, not governed by right or reaſon, *Every one doing that which is right in his owne eyes*, Judg.17.6. and that will be whatſoever is wrong in the eyes of God, and all good men.

But of all Warres that which is called [a] Civill, hath in the experience of all times proved moſt pernicious: *when a Kingdome* is not united againſt a forraigne foe, but *divided againſt it ſelfe*, and by that diviſion, in great danger of a deſperate downefall, *Mark.*3.24,25. It is called *inteſtine* Warre, which is as a burning in the bowells or intrailes; and of all Civill Warres, the worſt and moſt woefull that can be, is that, which is managed under ſuch Titles, as import the moſt perfect Unity, and the greateſt eſtrangement from war-like hoſtility. Such is that which is now waged under the Colours, and with the ſound of our *Engliſh Standards* and *Trumpets*.

[a] *Summum (Brute) nefas, civilia Bella, fatemur.* Cato *apud Claudian.* lib. 2.

Which if it ſhould goe on, as the wicked wiſh, and all good-men abhorre to thinke of, would make this Kingdome, of a famous Sanctuary of peace, a Seminary of diſcord, of a Granary or Store-houſe of plenty (or *garden of delights*, as [b] Pope *Innocent* the 4th. called it) a wilderneſſe of Want; for ſuch is the Waſt of Warre, as makes the Land which *before* an Army was as the *Garden of Eden*, *behind it to be* no better then *a deſolate Wilderneſſe*, Joel 2. v.3. which, (if it long continue,) muſt needs bring forth a devouring famine throughout a very ſpatious and plentifull Kingdome. And famine hath made even pitifull women to be cruell to their owne children, as to act the

[b] *Vere hortus noſter deliciarum eſt, putens inexhauſtus eſt*, Math. Paris, *Hiſtor major. in* Hen.3. p.936.

parts of Butchers, Cookes and gueſts at the ſame Meſſe, the fleſh of their little ones, *their little ones of a ſpan long*, Lam. 4. 10. & 2, 20.

But there is another Famine (ſometimes an effect of Warre,) much worſe then this, proceeding from the interruption of Religion, and the deſolation of the Sanctuary, which (though by the ungodly it be little regarded,) to ſuch as are truely Religious, will be matter of the heavieſt apprehenſion that can be. How will it afflict their hearts, to call to mind, what comforts they have enjoyed, while they had the holy Goſpell of peace, and civill peace with the Goſpell, what ſweet refreſhing they have formerly had, in the Communion of Saints, on the Sabbaths, and other ſeaſons of ſacred Aſſemblies, yea even in their meetings of humiliation, when by Civill Warre they ſee great Congregations are diſſolved, the Shepheards and their flocks ſeperated, the Sheepe ſcattered, if not both he, and they butchered, without any glimpſe of hope, (of a long time) to be abſolved from that great and terrible excommunication of Paſtors and People.

This is that Calamity which the Prophet *Amos* compareth to a famine of bread, (but makes it much more grievous) when men (ſaith he) *ſhall wander from Sea to Sea, from North even to the Eaſt*, and ſhall runne too and fro, to ſeeke the word of the Lord, but (in that pure, and plenteous, and peaceable manner wherein they have had it) ſhall not find it, *Amos* 8. 11, 12.

Dub. If Warre be a compound of ſo many evill Ingredients, how can any good man have any thing to doe with it, either as a Counſellor of it, or an Actor in it?

Anſw. For Anſwer to this Doubt, two Queſtions are to be propounded, and reſolved.

The one, Of the lawfullneſſe of Warre in generall;

The other, What are the Conditions of lawfull Warre in particular.

For

For the first, there have beene some of old who have condemned all Warre, and those not only such, as have beene condemned (by the Church) for Hereticks, as the [t] *Manicheans*: but such also as have been honoured in the Church, as *Cyprian* a famous orthodox Divine, and a Martyr, who in his Epistle to *Donatus*, enveigheth vehemently against it, as not only an unlawfull thing, but as absurdly sinnefull, and inhumane; [u] when any (saith he) commits *a single Murther, it is a Crime, a Vertue, when the like is done by many; and then not respect of innocence, but magnitude of the mischiefe procures impunity to it: and they make* [w] *an use of it, and Art of it,* (saith he) *and cruelty is not only committed, but taught;* [v] *what can be called more inhumane or more grievous, then that men should make it a discipline to destroy men, and a glory when they have destroyed them.* Quest. 1.

[t] August. cont. Faustum Manich. lib. 22. c. 74.

[u] *Homicidium cum admittunt singuli, crimen est, virtus vocatur, cum publicè geritur: impunitatem sceleribus acquirit, non Innocentiæ ratio, sed vitiæ magnitudo.* Cyprian. Epist. lib. 2. ep. 2. p. 7. edit. Paris. 1633.

[w] *Ut qui possit occidere, usus est, ars est.* Ibidem.

[v] *Scelus non tantum geritur, sed & docetur, quid potest inhumanius, quid acerbius dici, disciplina est ut perimere qui possit, & gloria est, quod perimit.* Ibidem.

And *Lactantius* being (in disposition answerable to his Name,) a mild and milken man, abhorring blood-shed, thought it was not lawfull, *for a* [x] *Just man to be a Warriour, whose Iustice was to be his Warfare:* and his tenderneſſe of nature, made him so partiall to pitty, so unjust to Justice, that he held, *a just man should* [y] *not be a witnesse against any one in a Capitall crime: for* (said he) *killing being forbidden, it is all one, whether one kill another, with a Sword or with a word.*

[x] *Neq; militare justo licebit, cujus militia est ipsa justitia,* Lactan instit. lib. 6. cap. 20.

[y] *Neq; verò accusare quenquam, crimine capitali, quia nihil distat, utrum verbo, aut ferro potius occidas; quoniam occidi ipse prohibeas.* Ibidem.

Of later times, some of *the more moderate Papists*, have written against it, as *Cornelius* [z] *Agrippa*, [a] *Feros*,

[z] Cornel: Agrip: *de vanitat. scient. cap.* 79.

[a] Jo: Ferus in 4to. *Lib. commen. in* Math: *ſuper*, v. 52. cap. 26.
[b] Eraſm. *Epiſt.* Anton. a Bergis, *lib.* 2. *ep.* 27.
Annotat. in Luc cap. 3. *&* c. 22. Enchirid. *Militis Chriſtian: paſſim.* Chiliad. Adag. *Dulce Bellum inexpertis*, pag. 256. *typis wechel* An. 1629.
[c] *Anabaptiſt:* Melanchthon *in loc. commun. cap. de Magiſtrat.*

[a] *Ferus*, [b] *Eraſmus*, but eſpecially *Eraſmus*, who divers times, in his Bookes, hath made an aſſault with his Pen, upon the profeſſion and practiſe of War; and hath purſued the quarrell againſt it, ſometimes in very large diſcourſes, and by ſome of the [c] *moſt rigid Anti-papiſts*, it hath been condemned, as unlawfull, though for the moſt part, the later ſort of Enemies to the eninity of Warre, have diſallowed it not ſimply, or univerſally to all the godly, in all times, but unto Chriſtians only under the time of the Goſpell.

But moſt of the beſt, and moſt Judicious Divines, in all ages have beene of the contrary judgement, and not without good reaſon: for

Firſt, The holieſt and moſt accepted with God in the old Teſtament, have beene Warriours, as *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Ioſhua*, *Gideon*, *David*, and others.

Secondly, If the profeſſion, and practiſe of Warre were utterly unlawfull, it muſt be, becauſe it is inconſiſtent with holineſſe, but that it is not, as it is plaine, *Deut.* 23. where it is ſaid: *The Lord thy God walketh in the midſt of thy Campe, to deliver thee, and give up thine enemies before thee, therefore ſhall thy Campe be holy, that he ſee no uncleane thing in thee, and turne away from thee*, ver. 14. and I know no cauſe, but the Campe may be as holy as the Church, nay a Campe may be a Church, ſo was the Campe of *Conſtantine*, and *Theodoſius*, and of many other godly Warriours in their times, but very good reaſon, why a Souldier ſhould be very holy, and it is, becauſe he is by his Adventures of his life, to accompt himſelfe as a daily dying man, and the conſideration of that, may make him ſo penitent for offences paſt, and ſo provident for his future

future happineſſe, that (betwixt both) his life while it laſteth, may be more religious, and his death when it comes more advantagious.

Thirdly, For thoſe that allow warre to the *Iewes* and deny it to the Chriſtians under the Goſpell, they may be refuted.

Firſt, By the example of the *Centurion*, *Math.*8. who by his owne authority, and command over Souldiers, illuſtrated the power of Chriſt over the creatures, in ſuch ſort, as that our Saviour, (without any touch of reproach) to his profeſſion, gave this praiſe of his faith, *I have not found ſo great faith, no not in* Iſrael, *ver.*10. And of *Cornelius* (the Centurion of the *Italian* band) the teſtimony (given by the Holy Ghoſt) is, *That he was a devout man, one that feared God with all his houſe, who gave much almes to the people, and prayed to God alwayes*, Act. 10. 1, 2. and his Military calling is made no exception to his great commendation, becauſe it gave no impediment to his holy converſation.

Secondly, When in the third of *Luke*, the Souldiers (with others) came to *Iohn Baptiſt*, as Diſciples to a Maſter to be inſtructed, what to doe, he returned them this anſwer: *Doe violence to no man, neither accuſe any man falſely, and be content with your wages*, ver.14. The firſt prohibition may ſeeme to bind them to the peace, and ſo to require a renunciation of their military profeſſion, but it is to be underſtood of private or irregular violence, and not of ſuch force as is exerciſed according to the rule and diſcipline of warre, but the laſt part of his advice, (which biddeth them to be content with their wages) alloweth them to take wages, and if he allow them to take the wages of Souldiers, he alloweth them to doe the worke of Souldiers.

Thirdly, The Magiſtrate hath the power of the Sword,

Rom. 13.4. not onely againſt one ſingle offender, but againſt many, if many deſerve it, and to doe Juſtice upon many, may require many Swords (ſo many as may make up a whole Army) and if there be military force raiſed to hinder juſtice, there may military force be uſed to purſue it to effect.

Fourthly, as it is lawfull, by the dictate of nature, for a private man to defend himſelfe againſt an hoſtile aſſault of a private man, ſo it may be lawfull for a number of men aſſaulted or endangered, by an Army of enemies (by force of arms in a Military manner) to free themſelves from their oppreſſion and tyranny.

Fiftly, If any people or kingdome ſhould diſclaime all uſe of Armes, in ſuch a caſe they could not long ſubſiſt, in any condition of ſafety, from invaſion or aſſault: for ſuch a tame diſpoſition, would give advantage to invite an enemy to ſet upon them, and give them opportunity either to inſlave them, or to ſlay them: As we ſee by the example of the Jewes, ſuperſtitiouſly forſaking their own juſt defence on the *Sabbath* day, wherby they were expoſed to the ſpoyl of thoſe that hated them, 1 *Mach.* 12. from *ver.* 33. to 41. and by ſuch deſerting of a juſt defence, may men betray themſelves, their lives, Lawes, Liberties and Eſtates, into the hands of ambitious or bloody enemies, which by the light of nature they are obliged with all their power to preſerve.

Sixtly, God hath many times ſhewed his approbation of warre, on the better part, by miraculous aſſiſtance to it, and reſiſtance and confuſion of the contrary party, and that ſince the publiſhing and ſpreading of the Doctrine of Chriſt: whereof there are many examples in Eccleſiaſticall Authours. And theſe reaſons are of force, as well in the time of the Goſpell, as under the law, or before it.

[a] Tert *Apolog* c. 5 Euſeb *in vita* Conſtant. l. 9 *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 9. c. 10. Auguſt. *de Civ. Dei* l. 1. cap. 26. *Queſt.* 2.

Now for the conditions of warre, which may qualifie it, againſt juſt exception. Firſt,

First, No warre can be lawfull without the allowance of lawfull authority, and the authority that muſt allow it, is only that, which is legiſlative, or a law-making authority.

Secondly, For the cauſe of it, it muſt be juſt, and not only juſt, but it muſt be weighty too, for every juſt cauſe is not ſufficient warrant for a warre.

A third condition of lawfull warre is, a good end or aime in it, it muſt not be undertaken, either for ambition or revenge, or prey or pillage, but as Chriſtians muſt pray, ſo Chriſtian Souldiers muſt fight, *That they may lead a*[c] *peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſſe and honeſty*, 2 Tim. 2. and *v.* 2.

[c] *Meritò in terra homini non gloria, ſed pax eſt quærenda, pax cum Deo, pax cum proximo, pax cum ſeipſo.* Bernard. *in Feſt. Omnium Sanct. Serm.* 5. *col.* 297.

Fourthly, As the end muſt be good, ſo muſt the means and manner of mannaging the Warre (the way to that end) be good alſo: The innocent (as much as may be) muſt be ſpared, and none muſt be made guilty, (that is not) that he may be ruined, which *Iohn Baptiſt* might meane, when he ſaid to the Souldiers, *Accuſe no man falſely*; Call him not Traitor or Rebell, that you may have a pretence to ſpoyle him, when he is a true Subject to his Soveraigne, a true Patriot to his Country, and the Camp muſt be well diſciplin'd, as well in a religious, as a Military manner, leſt [f] the ſinnes of thoſe, who have the better cauſe, ſhould fight on the enemies ſide, againſt themſelves, and in *the Name of the Lord of Hoſts muſt the Banner be ſet up*, Pſal. 20. 5. and Petitions put up for thoſe that fight by them that fight not, *Exod.* 17. 11, 12. that the ſucceſſe of the battell may be ſwayed on the better ſide.

[f] *Noſtris peccatis barbari fortes ſunt, noſtris virtus Romanos ſuperatur exercitus.* Hieron. *Epit. Nepot. Tom.* 1. *p.* 27.

Fifthly, For the ſeaſon of warre, it muſt not be taken up too ſoone, nor too haſtily untill other meanes of peace and Juſtice have been tryed to prevent it, and thoſe meanes proved vaine and fruſtrate. The [g] Oratour well ſaid, *There are many things to be done before matters are to be put to an undoing extremity*: Wherefore it was an Act of more

[g] *Dici vix poteſt quam multa ſunt, quæ antea fieri oportet, quam ad hanc extremam rationem devenire.* Cic. 1. *Orat. pro Quintio.*

more pride then prudence, an argument rather of raſhneſſe then valour, (like that of [h] *Semiramis*, who hearing that the *Babylonians* rebelled, while ſhe was dreſſing up her head, went preſently, partly dreſt and partly undreſt to the warres without any more preparation, either for pacification or ſuppreſſion of them) in our King [i] *Richard* the firſt, who being told (as he ſate at Supper) that the *French* King had beſieged his Towne of *Vernoil* in *Normandy*, proteſted that he would not turne his backe, untill he had confronted the *French*, and thereupon he cauſed the wall of his Pallace, that was before him, to be broken downe towards the South, and poſted to the Sea-coaſt immediately into *Normandy*.

[h] *Valer. Max. lib. 9. c. 3.*

[i] Walſingham *Hypod. Neuſtriæ.*

Such inconſiderate quickneſſe proves (many times) as unhappy, as an over-haſty birth, the deſigne in ſuch caſes doth commonly miſcarry, and (ſometimes) works as much miſery to the undertaker, as the might and malice of the enemy could doe: So did the precipitation of *Cambyſes*, who for want of due providence and proviſion for his Army, within a few dayes brought a fearefull famine upon it, ſo that his Souldiers were ſoone put to it, to caſt lots, * who ſhould die an evill death, or to avoid that doe worſe, by preying on anothers life, to preſerve his owne.

[k] *Cum ſortirentur milites ejus, quis malè periret, quis prius viveret.* Senec. *de ira lib. 3 c. 10*

Sixthly, and laſtly, when the Warre is ended, there ſhould be an end of all warlike enmity, as [l] *Claudian* ſpeaketh in the praiſe of *Theodoſius*, whoſe armes and anger, he uſed to put-off at the ſame period of war.

[l] *Poſt actes, odijs idem qui terminus armis,* Claudian.

With theſe conditions is warre not only lawfull, but ſo neceſſary, that to forbeare it is unlawfull, and ſo he that can and will not aſſiſt in it (to his power) commeth under the *curſe of* Meroz, *Iudg. 5. Curſe ye* Meroz, *curſe ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof; becauſe they came not to help the Lord, to help the Lord againſt the mighty*, v. 23. And of the Prophet *Ieremy*,

Ieremy, speaking of the destruction of *Moab*, *Cursed be he, that keepeth backe his Sword from bloud*, Jer.48.10. If he be a man fit for warre, to doe execution upon the wicked; and the more wicked the enemy is, the more warrantable is the warre, the more necessary the resolution to withstand him.

For though warre it selfe be a grievous calamity, yet if the enemy be not couragiously resisted, in his owne way of violence, a worse thing then warre will follow upon it, that is perpetuall tyranny and slavery upon the consciences and persons of the vanquished, so that the evill of warre, both concomitant with it, and consequent upon it, well considered, may serve as incentives of courage, to ingenious and generous spirits, to resist it, to repell it, since a noble death (especially for him whose reward is in Heaven) is much rather to be chosen then an ignominious and miserable life.

It is one part of the happy priviledge of the godly, and that an excellent one, that all things shall some way or other, *worke for their good*, Rom.8.28. And there is nothing, no not warre, though it be as bad as hath been said, but may be so handled, as may serve for their benefit. *Applic.*

That it may be so (in respect of the precedent Discourse) I shall now endeavour to apply it so.

As
1. To cast us downe by a lowly humiliation of our selves.
2. To raise up in us a just indignation against the causes of warre.
3. To uphold those in due reputation, who are friends to peace.
4. To exhort the better sort, to be at unity among themselves.
5. To reprove those who desert their own side, and

take part with the adverſaries, both of their Religion and Country.

For the firſt, While we thinke of all this evill, which partly is come upon us, and the reſt and worſt may follow after, if the warre (which God forbid) ſhould proceed to the utmoſt period, how can we but lament the loſſe of our peace, and repent for our ingratitude, for ſo great a bleſſing, as (for the greateſt part of an 100. yeares) our kingdome hath both enjoyed and abuſed; and for our want of compaſſion, to our diſtreſſed brethren abroad; the relation of whoſe miſerable condition we have read of, heard and talked of, but ſeldome taken to heart, either by a ſympathy of ſorrow with them, or hearty ſupplication for them.

And ſecondly, how can we but ſet our hearts againſt thoſe miſchievous make-bates, who have robbed us of ſo pretious a Jewell as Peace, and broken us in peeces, by their diſtracting devices, which have ſet us in a way of deſtructive Commotion againſt one another. And who be they? Beſides our ſinnes (which I ſhall have occaſion to complaine of, in the anſwer to the Queſtion) there be many, who have done very much ill ſervice in ſecret, to ſo pernicious a purpoſe; but the moſt peſtilent enemies of our publike peace, are they in whom all Malignant motives are concurrent: I meane the Papiſts, for they have been of old, and ever will be the moſt bold and buſie Incendiaries in all Proteſtant States, by them have been caſt about the Coales of contention among us, which now they have blowne up into this dangerous combuſtion.

It is the principall Maxime of thoſe (who would be greateſt in Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall. preeminence all over the Chriſtian world, and the truly Catholike craft and ambition of the falſely called Catholike Religion to devide thoſe into as many fractions as they can, over whom

whom they desire to domineere by united Tyranny; and according to that rule, they have acted the parts of subtile Seperatists (in an active sense) sowing the Tares of strife, betwixt *severall States* and *Kingdomes*, [a] as the Jesuites did to advance the Popes quarrell against the *Venetians*: and in the *same State* labouring to fill the minds of Governours with jealousies and suspitions, and to alienate their affections from each other, who should be as one man, in joynt considerations and cares for the publike happinesse. And for the people, they ply them with artificiall fomentations of different fancies and opinions, to raise an hearty disaffection betwixt them, which may put them upon a prosecution of contrary designes, and (when opportunity serves) may raise them up in open warre against one another.

[a] They entred the State in disguise, and counterfeited letters, not only in the names of particular persons but of whole Societies, as of the Republike of *Genoa*, and the city of *Verona*. Hist of the quarrels of Pope *Paul* the fifth with the State of *Venice*. l. 2. p. 134.

To this purpose were the Instructions given by Cardinall *Allen* at *Rhemes*, *anno* 1579. to such Popish Seducers as then were to be sent from the Seminary in *France* into *England*, to with-draw the people of the Kingdome from their due obedience, and to make way for their great project of perdition in 88. by deviding them, under the titles of *Protestant* and *Puritane*, and provoking them (under those different denominations) to reall and mutuall both hate and contempt: which I take not upon trust from any private report, nor from that great and lying Authour. [*They say*] but upon the authority of an Arch-bishop (in this case of very great moment) avowing it to the face of a Popish Adversary, and divulging it to publike intelligence in print, in these words. [a] *If you chance to deale with a Puritan* (saith that Cardinall) *you must say, truely (Brother) for you there is more hope, then for those that be Protestants; because they (for feare of the Prince and the Law) are ready to say any thing; and therefore, me thinketh they be Atheists, but for you there is more hope, being either but*

[a] Arch-bishop *Abbot* his Answer to Doct. *Hills* 3 question p 103.

or cold; *If you deale with a Protestant, tell him there is more hope of him, then of rash haire-brain'd Puritanes, because they (with Religion) have put off all humanity, and civility with all other good manners,* who would not think that for such mischievous devices, this head of *Allen* was soone after thought worthy to be covered with a Cardinals Hat? So farre the Arch-bishop.

Here I shall crave leave of the more knowing and more observing part of this Auditory, that I may descend to the Information of the weaker sort of people (for their better warning, who either have not read, or doe not remember or not consider, or cannot apply the Plots of the Papists to the present condition of our time and State) of the crafty and cruell sollicitations of that party, to enkindle the fire of war in *Ireland*, and from thence (notwithstanding all the water betwixt us and that Kingdom) to disperse it abroad ver all the Counties of *England*, as now they have done.

And to this purpose they have impudently given out in *Ireland*; *Sometimes* ° *that His Majestly was personally (though disguised) present with the Rebells there*; Sometimes ᵖ *that he was dead, and that the young King went to Masse*; but most commonly, that which they did was *by the* ᵠ *Kings authority*, and that *they had the Broad-Seale for it, and that it was the Kings pleasure* ʳ *that all the English should be banished and loose their goods, because the Queenes Prieſt was hanged before her face.* And that *there was a Covenant (betwixt the* Irish *and the* Scots *upon these tearmes) that the* Irish *should never take part with the* English *against the* Scots, *nor the* Scots *with the* English *against the* Irish; *And* * *that all the* Scottish *Nation was joyned with them) for the extirpation of the* English: *So that the* Scots *were to leave never a drop of* English *blood in* England, *and that the* Irish *had command to leave never a drop of* English *blood in* Ireland; *and that (for that purpose) they had the* ‖ *Earle of* Argiles *hand, together with the hands*

° The *Irish* Remonstrance. p. 5, 48, 45, 77.
ᵖ *Ibid.* p. 6.
ᵠ *Ibid.* p. 45, 48, 56
ʳ *Ibid.* p. 68.
* *Ibid.* p. 38.
† *Ibid.*
‖ *Ibid.*

hands of the greateſt part of the prime Nobility of Scotland.

And that many might more readily come into an Aſſociation in their damnable League, and might carry it on with more courage, and higher hope of happy ſucceſſe, they coyned ſuch comfortable Lyes as theſe. *That there was an Army to come to their aide from* Spaine, [a] *another (of no fewer then* 40000.*) from* France, *another from* [b] Flanders, *that* Dublin *was taken, and that the diſtreſſed in* Ireland *might have no hope of ſuccour in* England, *or* Scotland, they told them, *that there was the like* [c] *ſtirres in both theſe Kingdoms:* meaning that the Papiſts purſued, and prevailed over the Proteſtants there, as they did in *Ireland:* a thing then (no doubt) both in their deſire, and deſigne, and like to be alſo in their indeavour, when they might begin with hope, to goe on with ſucceſſe.

[a] *Ibid* p. 19.
[b] *Ibid*
[b] *Ibid* p. 54.
[c] *Ibid* p. 38.

And that they might have the more colour for their bloody combination, theſe ſeditious Seedſ-men gave out, *that the Puritane Parliament in* England *was the cauſe of all this; in that they have made an* [d] *Act, that all Papiſts in* Ireland *muſt goe to Church, or otherwiſe be hanged at their owne doores: and therefore they began with the Proteſtants firſt, leaſt they ſhould begin with them, who had reſolved to* [e] *murther all the Papiſts throughout the Kingdome,* and yet (like odious hypocrites as they be) they ſometimes [f] pretended, *that if the Lord Lievtenant of* Ireland (that laſt was) *had not been put to death, by the Parliament, they had not made this Inſurrection:* whereas (indeed,) they held and hated him, as the moſt heavy-handed Deputy, that was ſet over them, (though Proteſtants had as great cauſe to complaine of the weight of his hand, as Papiſts had, if not greater) and plotted this miſchiefe (as upon Confeſſion is recorded) [g] *ſeventeene yeares* before their Rebellion brake out.

[d] *Ibid.* p. 4.
[e] *Ibid.* p. 35, 45.
[f] *Ibid.*
[g] *Ibid.* p. 35.

Their hatred of the beſt Proteſtants, under the name

of Puritans is notorious throughout the three Kingdoms, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*: but they hate them moſt, where they thinke they are moſt able to doe them hurt, that's in Parliament: and therefore they have been alway forward to falſifie their Acts and Intentions, to blaſt that venerable Aſſembly with the blackeſt calumny they can conceive, and to doe as deſperate acts againſt them as the Devill himſelfe can put into their heads.

[h] King *Iames* chargeth them with three Lyes together of the Act of Parliament, concerning the Oath of Allegiance, and all the Kingdome, yea all the Chriſtian world knoweth their devilliſh malignity towards that moſt Honourable Court in the Powder-plot, purpoſely deviſed againſt the place of their meeting, *that where the cruell Lawes* (as they call them) *were made againſt their Religion, both place and perſons, ſhould be blowne up at once*, which plot, had it taken effect, they purpoſed to have laid it on the [k] Puritans.

[h] King *Iames* premonit *p.* 328.

[i] King *Iames* his ſecond Speech in Parliament. *p.* 501.

[k] *Speeds* Chron. *lib.* 10. *p.* 1252. *col* 2.

And what they could not then bring about, by that ſecret ſatanicall treachery, they have of late attempted and undertaken by open Warre, and the Warre we now ſee tranſlated out of *Iriſh* into *Engliſh*, and their hate and ſpight written (in Capitall Letters) with the blood of *Engliſh* Proteſtants.

I am not ſo vainly preſumptuous, as to preſent ſuch particulars as theſe, to inſtruct the ſage and prudent Senators of this moſt High and Honourable Court, (who ſee, and fore-ſee, a thouſand times more, and further into the Popiſh *miſtery* of Iniquity, (with all the Engins that are working under it,) then many thouſands of ſuch private perſons as my ſelfe can poſſible conceive, but (by ſuch a breviate as I have brought in) to make ſome more cautelous reſentment of Popiſh plots in the common people and of their common perill, thereby, if there be not a very

ry watchfull jealousie in the great Counsell of the Kingdome, over them, and a zealous and unanimous industry of all true-hearted Protestants, to disappoint them; but I shall meete with them againe before we part.

Thirdly, The Miseries and Mischiefes of Warre, being such as have been shewed, it cannot but well become every good and wise man to shew himselfe disaffected to it, and much troubled for it, as well as by it. So did the Prophet (when he bewailed the condition of his time by the oppression and desolation of Warre, as out of this Chapter I have told you) and to doe all good offices they can to promote peace, as the Parliament by their many humble and pressing Petitions, and other prudent addresses to his Majesty, have indeavoured to doe: yet so (as well became their piety and prudence) as to desire no peace but such an one, as whosoever treats of it admits of God to be of the *Quorum* in it, and (in ballacing the conditions on both sides) will suffer his glory and the conscionable discharge of their trust (to the King and Kingdome) to make downe weight in the finall determination thereof: against which an agreement would prove but a conspiracie, for betraying of trust. But for a peace upon such tearmes as those we now mentioned, that *Englishman* who would not like *Ionah* (when to appease a tempest and save a Ship from splitting, he was content to be cast into and swallowed up of the Sea, *Ion.*1.12.) willingly lay downe his life, is not worthy to live.

And the more zealous should every one be of making up the breach of peace, by how much more worthy they are who are divided, and betwixt whom the neerest Union that can be, is required, if there were but a single seperation, of a paire of excellent Friends, we should have an affectionate sorrow in our hearts for their sakes: as * *Augustine* passionately expressed, upon the quarrels and

* *Heu mihi qui vos simul invo-*

and invectives betwixt *Hierom* and *Ruffinus*, *Woe is me* (ſaith he) *that I cannot find you both together, how am I moved? how am I grieved? how doe I feare, how willing would I be to fall downe at your feete, I would weepe according to my power, and begge according to my love, now of the one for the other, and then of both for both, and for others alſo, who with great perill and ſcandall ſee you, (as in a Theater) conteſting and contending as Enemies.* "*It is a great and a ſad Miracle,* (ſaith he) *from ſuch Amity as hath been to be changed to ſuch emnity as is now betwixt you*; And yet this Emnity was not exerciſed, with the Pike, but with the Pen, the dropps that were ſpilt (in their Warre) were not dropps of blood, but of Inke.

How would the good man have been grieved to have ſeen ſuch an eſtrangement, betwixt ſo great and (of himſelf) ſo good a King as our dread Soveraigne, and ſo wiſe and worthy a Counſell as the High Parliament? how would his heart have melted into tender commiſeration, of ſo many ſlaine, ſo many ſpoiled, and ruined (for this world) ſo great a deſolation, as is made in many parts, of this late flouriſhing Kingdome, by a moſt unnaturall Warre, and that (under adverſe Titles) in their Names, who are or ſhould be, as neerely allied and linked together, as the ingagements of Religion, Law, Conſcience, Prudence and Fidelity to God and man can poſſibly make them.

But what hope of Peace when both ſides have ſo farre proceeded in Warre, *When a man ſeeth Armies prepared, it is a madneſſe* (as the "Orator ſaid) *to expect a peace?*

Though I ſhall ſhew a Reaſon why I am not of his mind, I confeſſe I ſhould conceive more hope of a pacification of our ſtormy diſtempers, if no Divines, but ſuch as are of S. *Auguſtines* ſincerity, and charity, did officiate (as Chaplaines) and that while perſwaſions to peace are propoſed on the one ſide, incentives to warre were not founded on the other. Of

nire nonpoſſum, ut movear, ut doleo, ut timeo, procederem ad pedes veſtros, flerem quantum valerem, rogarem quantum amarem, nunc utrumq; veſtrum pro ſeipſo, nunc utrumq; pro altero, & pro aliis ac maxime infirmis --qui vos tanquam in Theatro vitæ hujus cum magno ſui periculo ſpectant. Auguſt. Epiſt. Hieron Tom. 2. inter opera Hieron p 350. & 351. *courſe of*

" *Hoc magnum & triſte miraculum eſt, ab amicitijs talibus ad has inimicitias pervenire.* Idem.

Ob.

" *Erat amentis, cum acrem videres pacem cogitare crue.* Orat de Deiotaro tol. 216

Anſw. 1.

Of the Parliaments propenſion to peace (by offering and accepting of ſuch conditions as may conſiſt, with the great truſt repoſed in them, (both for the reformation of matters amiſſe in Church and State, and preſervation of their own priviledges, and the peoples rights and Liberties.) I have intimated enough already, for this time and place, there can be no doubt for their part in this Audience, no need therefore here, either to give intelligence, or make apologie on their behalfe, though elſewhere there may be uſe of both.

Thirdly, For his Majeſties part (to whom humble addreſſes of reconciliation have been many times preſented, and in whoſe power it was and yet is to crowne them all with a comfortable concluſion.) We have had ſo many emphaticall profeſſions not only of his peaceable mind towards the Parliament, but of his pittifull diſpoſition towards all his people, that we cannot but wonder by what impoſtures, or preſumptions in uſurping his power and abuſing his name, his ſubjects, (eſpecially thoſe who in a common calamity ſhould have been ſevered from the common ſort by a marke of ſecurity, as *Ezek.* 9. 4. 6.) have ſuffered, and yet doe ſuffer ſo wofull a change of their Peace into Warre, and of proſperity into miſery, as of late (under pretence of his Commands, or Commiſſions) they have done. His Majeſties expreſſes (ſuch as become a true [l] *Abimilech* (that is both a Father and a King, the Royall Sonne and Heire of him, who gloried in the Title [*Rex Pacificus,*] and ſaid [m] *a King by the Law of Nature, becomes a naturall Father to his Lieges at his Coronation*) are as followeth, *that* [n] *his life (when it is moſt*

[l] The Kings of *Paleſtine* were commonly called *Abimelechs*, a Name compounded of benignity and Authority, ſignifying a Father and a King, for Rulers (and among them Kings are chiefe) are Fathers to ſuch as are ſubordinate to them, as 2 *King.* 13. 18 *Iob* 29. 16. and under that Title they are to be honoured by the fift Commandement, whereby is implyed that they muſt rule with indulgence as Fathers, and their Subjects obey with benevolence as children.

[m] King *Iames* true Laws of free-Monarchy, *pag.* 295. of his works in Folio.

[n] So in his Majeſties anſwer to the Parliaments

pleaſant is nothing ſo pretious to him, as it is and ſhall be; to governe his people with honour and Iuſtice: [o] *that it is not in the power of any perſon, to incline him to take Armes againſt his Parliament, and miſerably to imbroyle this Kingdome in a Civill Warre, and that his Affections abhorre, and his heart bleeds at the apprehenſion of Civill Warre,* and he doth ingage himſelfe (in the word of a King) [p] *That the ſecurity of all and every one of the Parliament from violence is, and ever ſhall be, as much as his care to preſerve himſelfe, and his children: and* [q] *that he will be as carefull of their priviledges, as of his owne Prerogatives.* [r] *That in all his time (before the Parliament) having never cauſed the effuſion of one drop of blood, in his riper Iudgement in government, he will never open ſuch iſſues of blood, as might drowne himſelfe and his poſterity in them*, that he hath given up all the faculties of his ſoul to an earneſt deſire of Peace and reconciliation with his people.* And we had experience of truth, as well as of *power, in the word of a King, Eccleſ.*8.4. in his Majeſties accommodation of Accord with his Subjects of *Scotland,* which he profeſſed when he ſhewed himſelfe moſt diſpleaſed with them, in theſe words, [s] *If ſome of their bad blood were ſhed, he ſhould make accompt that the blood was let out of his owne veines, nor ſhall we* (ſaith he) *draw one drop of it, in any other caſe, then a faithfull Phyſitian will, and muſt doe, for the preſervation of the whole body.* And after a great deale of ſharpe expoſtulation with them, in a Booke conſiſting of 430. pages in Folio, he thus concludeth. [t] *As we have found the aide and aſſiſtance of our loving Subjects towards this Iourney, ſo we heartily deſire their prayers, all the time of our abſence, for a good ſucceſſe unto it, and that (if it be poſſible) we may returne with peace, and without the effuſion of any drop of our Subjects blood.*

Beſides theſe gratious words he gave reall proofe of his Royall and Chriſtian compaſſion, in committing the Treaty

Petition, and reaſons againſt his going into *Ire-land*, p. 9.

[o] In his Majeſties Anſwer to the Declaration of both Houſes concerning *Hull*, ſent *May*, 4. 1642. p. 17.

[p] In the ſecond Remonſtrance of the ſtate of the Kingdom, p. 4.

[q] Declarat: Parliament. *March* 12 p. 9.

[r] In his Speech to the Miniſters and Freeholders aſſembled at *Heworth* Heath in *Yorkeſhiere*. Iune 3. 1642.

* His Majeſties Anſwer to the deſires and Propoſitions of both Houſes, *Feb:* 3. 1642. p. 10.

[s] His Majeſties large Declaration upon the tumults of *Scotland*, p. 5.

[t] *Ibid* p. 430

Treaty of Pacification, unto such pious and Honourable Lords, as whose consciences liked no compliance with the Popish Religion, whose innocence was not affraid of peaceable Justice, whose wisedome fore-saw the destruction of two Kingdomes if they should assault one another with Armed furie, which their goodnesse abhorred as his Majesty did.

And as *David* (when he was diverted by *Abigail*, from his designe of destruction of *Nabal*, and his family for his churlish ingratitude towards him:) *blessed God, and her, and her advice, for keeping him from comming to shed blood*, 1 Sam. 25. 32,33. so his Majestie (though neither so rough or rash in a resolution of revenge, as *David* was at that time) *gave thanks to those Lords for their paines, and industry* before they had brought their Mediation to an happy period: which I doubt not but he did more fully, when afterward it speeded to a perfect accomplishment.

[a] In his Majesties Speech in Parliament, *Novemb:* 5. 1640.

And though, (as *Solomon* saith) *the heart of a King is unsearchable*, Prov. 25. 2. Unsearchable by any, except by the King of Kings, we may probably conceive, upon the consideration of and in conformitie to such premises, that when both the *English* and *Scottish* Armies were in Array (for a posture of encounter) his Majesty might have such meditations as these.

"These Souldiers on both sides, now ready to rush up-
"on mutuall mischiefe, are my naturall Subjects, my
"Subjects are the strength and honour of my State, if I
"give the signall of assault, and set one Armie against an-
"other, it is like to be a bloody day, and the issue of blood
"(being opened in a warlike way,) will not easily be stop-
"ped.

"If it should thus begin between two neighbouring
"Kingdomes, by their Vicinity, they may ever find occa-
"sions to continue quarrells, and to seeke revenge with cru-

" ell rage and ruine one of another; and who ſhall ſuſtaine
" the greateſt loſſe at the laſt by ſuch reciprocall ſlaugh-
" ters but my ſelfe who am King of both Kingdomes? If
" my Subjects kill up one another, my power will be much
" impaired, my dignity diminiſhed, *for in the multitude of*
" *people is the Kings honour*, Prov. 14. 28. and their diminu-
" tion my diſgrace, for what is a King without his people?

" And if King *Edward* the Confeſſor, when his Cap-
" taines promiſed, for his ſake, they would not leave one
[w] *Cambdent Rem:* p 214. " *Dane* alive, [w] *thought it better, to leade a private and unblou-*
" *dy life, then to be a King by ſuch bloody butcheries.* It cannot
" but be much better for me, to preſerve two Kingdomes
" in peace and concord, and to continue a King (over two
" numerous Nations) without blood-guiltineſſe, then to
" commit them to a hoſtile conflict, with hazard of great
" ſlaughter on both ſides, and of mine owne comfortable
" enjoyment of both Kingdomes. And though they have
" given me occaſion of a ſevere conteſtation with them,
[x] *Ibid.* p. 242. " *yet if we Princes* (as one of my renowned Predeceſſors
" wiſely ſaid (it was K. *Henry* the ſeventh) *ſhould take every*
" *occaſion that is offered, the world ſhould never be quiet, but*
" *wearied with continuall Warres.*

" And for the cauſe of this quarrell, of my *Scottiſh* Sub-
" jects, it is *a queſtion of Rights and Priviledges and lawfull li-*
" *berties* of their conſciences, perſons and eſtates, fitter to
" be decided by the prudence of Parliamentary Commiſ-
" ſioners, then by the violence of Military executioners,
" whoſe Sword hath not an eye, to ſee any difference, be-
" tween right and wrong, nor can ſhew in the laſt reſolu-
" tion it makes, which ſide had the better cauſe, or better
[y] Biſhop *Hall, Decad.* 4. Ep. 2. pag. 338. " mind, either in an open Warre, or in a private Duell, or
" ſingle Combat: though in times and places, (where Po-
" pery hath prevailed, it hath oftentimes, been taken up for
" a tryall of truth and right. Once indeed did that Prince of

most

most admired prudence *Solomon* call for a Sword to decide a controversie betwixt two mothers, pleading about their right to a living and a dead child, 1 *King*. 3. 24. but he did not use it as a Sword, nor did he meane it, but onely (by pretending perill to the living child) to discover the true mother, both of the living and the dead, by the evidence of her compassion who would rather have none of it at all, then not all of it alive.

And if one child were so tenderly beloved by a true mother, I that am a true Father (not a tyrannicall Usurper) of my people, cannot but be more chary of many thousands of them, then to put them into a bloudy combustion among themselves. And my royall Father, who (for his wisdome) hath been magnified as a second *Solomon* is highly[a] commended, *For having done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in* Scotland, *which the most renowned of all his Predecessours could never doe, in beating downe and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice (called the deadly feud) A conquest which shall give him the honour and power of kingly prudence for evermore.*

[a] Sir *W. Rawleigh* Hist. world. *l.* 5 *c.*3. § 17.

And that done, and both *Scotland* and *England* united in his Royall Right,[a] he proposed and zealously pursued their union under the generall title of great *Brittaine*. And I will not so degenerate from his gracious disposition, as to set them at emnitie, whom he so desired to settle in unitie.

[a] K *James* his Speech in Parliament, *anno* 1603. p. 488, 489. and in his third Speech in White-hall, p. 512.

And though the Souldiers be ready and forward to fight, better it were that the most valiant Captains should yeeld to the perswasions of a weake woman, as [b] *Coriolanus* to his Mother *Volumnia*, or that two compleat Armies (readie to dash one with another,) should suffer their manhood to be overcome by female mediation, (as did the Armies of King [c] *Edward* the third, and King *Philip* of *France*,) then that they should make such a confusion and dashing

[b] *Plut.* in the life of *Coriolanus*, p. 239.

[c] *Serres* French inventor, p. 493.

"together, as might be like to breake both in peeces, and "to bring them to a feebleneſſe which might make them, "and perhaps my ſelfe and my poſterity with them, a prey "to that party whoſe ambition and bloodineſſe have no "bounds, but ſuch as an over-prevalent power doth force "upon them.

Such was His Majeſties good meaning to his Subjects of *Scotland* (publiſhed in print, not much above * two yeares ago) which may be a juſt ground of all, that hath bin hitherto ſaid in his Name, and we have no cauſe to conceive that his goodneſſe and kindneſſe ſhould be leſſe to his people of *England*, then to them: ſince though his Majeſty was not borne among us, he is pleaſed to make his choyce to live among us, as accounting this Kingdome, for the chiefe part of his Royall birth-right, and therefore fixing his abode here.

* *Anno* 1639.

And I doubt not but the lives of his true Chriſtian Subjects in common (both as Chriſtians, according to the pious compaſſion of *Charles* the Emperour, "*Who had rather ſave one Chriſtian, then kill a thouſand Moores or Turks or other perfidious enemies*) and as Subjects to whom he hath the relation of a father (as hath been ſhewed) may be ſtill pretious in his ſight (his owne ſight I meane, not in others who looke upon a Proteſtant Parliament, and people with blood-ſhotten-eyes) whereby he may more comfortably remember, that * *He hath ſpared their blood, when he might have ſpilled it, then contrariwiſe that he hath killed, where he might have ſaved alive.*

" *Bucholz. Iud. chronolog ad An.* 1541. *p.* 544.

* *Mavult commemorare ſe (cum poſſet perdere) peperciſſe, quam cum parcere potuerit, perdidiſſe.* Cicer. Orat pro Quint. l. 3. p. 2.

4. Preparations to warre are many times (and alwayes ſhould be) made with purpoſes of peace (as we have obſerved before) which each party is ſo much the more engaged to accept of (upon ſo honorable tearms) as they make more profeſſion of Juſtice and Religion.

5. If we ſaw no hope of peace by any mediation of man or

or woman, we may yet desire it, pray for it, and hope to speed in our prayers, by the favour of God to his people, and his power over such as are most powerfull by the Sword: for he hath over-ruled, not only the hands, but the minds of such, as have been most forward for warre, as in the difference betwixt *Frederick* the Prince Elector of *Saxonie*, and another *Germane* Prince; when *Frederick* prepared warre against him, and he (without any preparations to that purpose) had resolved to commit his cause wholly to God; *Let another man* (said he) *be so mad* (but I will not) *as to make warre with him who committeth his cause unto God.*

Bucholz *Jud. chron. ad An.* 1450. p 420.

Now if our desires, endeavours and hopes of peace (which we should keepe, if it were possible with all the world, *Rom.* 12.18.) should all prove frustrate, we must by our Christian Prudence doe our best to make a vertue of necessity, and as cunning Physitians doe our endeavour to turne a poyson into a Medicine, then

For a fourth Application of the Point (the sharpe point of the Sword of warre) let it be our warning against division among all those, whom the adverse power would unite in a society of sufferings, if they should successefully proceed; and how many are they?

All true Protestants must looke for nothing lesse from Papists, if (they get the better) then the losse of their liberty of conscience, and of their persons, their lively-hoods and lives; the *regular and conscionable Christian* must expect scornes and contumelies of all kinds, and he is like also to have his eares, and heart smitten with execrable oathes and blasphemies of impious Atheists; *the civill, sober and temperate man*, shall be urged, and it may be forced to swallow downe needlesse draughts (as an Horse doth a drench) by domineering drunkards; *the rich man* shall be sure to be made a prey to the needy, or greedy Souldiers,

Souldiers, whoſe luxury will laviſh out in a day or night, what a provident worldling is laying up all a whole yeare together: And if he have a wife or daughter, whom their carnall appetite will not refuſe for a familiar companion, he may ſuffer in the ſenſuall and ſhamefull abuſe of their perſons; and he that hath but his perſonall liberty to looſe, ſhall if warre conquer him be made a ſlave to the conquerour.

If therefore men have any private emulation or exception againſt each other, they muſt now ſet them aſide, as the creatures (in the Arke) laid by their *Antipathies* within, becauſe of the common danger of an inundation without; our danger is much more then theirs, of drowning in the water: For ours is a drowning in blood, and our reaſon and Religion both, oblige and enable us to be more chary of our mutuall concord, and more ready to cement up every little chinke in the Fabrick of our State: we ſhould now (above all times) unite our hearts in affectionate well wiſhings to the common welfare, our heads in a communion of counſels and cares to recover it, and our hands for ſupport of our ſelves, and ſuppreſſion of thoſe, who (if they had us in their power) would fall upon us more fiercely then the *evening Wolves*, (*Hab.* 1.8.) upon a prey of fatted lambes.

And is this a time for the Proteſtants of *England* to fall to variance among themſelves? to breake in peeces, and as it were to crumble away into petty breaches of particular Societies, into new Sects and Factions? Is it a time for any of them to deſert the common cauſe of their Brethren, by Nation and Religion, and againſt them both to partake with Papiſts, and to put to their helping hand on their ſide, not conſidering or not caring (what ſhallow heads or hollow hearts have they the whiles) what intent firſt ſet their wheeles in motion, or what event is hoped for

for and pursued by the furious driver of that Hell-fiery Chariot of Popery, which is no lesse nor better, then to wrap up their native Country in most lamentable ruine, and to bring downe the straight and golden Scepter of Jesus Christ (by which he governeth his Church) under the sway of the crooked and wooden Crosier of Antichrist, who pretends title to the chiefe office of a Pastor of Christs flock, but acts the part of a wolfe toward the Sheep of his fold.

They could not surely be so wanting, much lesse so adverse to so weighty a cause in so cleare a case, so necessarily requiring a most cordiall union of us all, if they considered how our adversaries, though of *severall Counties and Countries, are associated in an unreconcileable quarrell against us, and all our fellow Professours of the same faith, And what they have determined for the destruction of us all. It is worthy the notice of those that have not read it in the *Irish Remonstrance*, and of their remembrance that have read it, what order they have agreed upon for our confusion, which is this.

First, They have resolved to *extirpate all the English out of Ireland*, as hath been shewed, *That Kingdome setled and peopled only with sound Catholikes* (it is their title not mine; for in very truth they are neither sound nor Catholike) *Thirty thousand men must be sent into* England *to joyne with the French and Spanish forces, and the service* (they should say the Sacrifice, for they meane a slaughter of the English) *in* England *performed, then they will joyntly fall upon* Scotland, *for the reducing of that Kingdome to the obedience of the Pope; which being finished, they have engaged themselves to the King of* Spaine *for assisting him against the* Hollanders, that was their plot, discovered by examination taken upon Oath.

There is then more cause, that *England, Scotland* and the

* *It is ordered and established, and that (upon pain of the highest punishment to be inflicted by authority of this Assembly) that every* Roman Catholick, English, Welch *&* Scottish (*who was of that profession before the troubles*) *who will joyne in the present union, shall be preserved and cherished in his life, goods & estate, as fully & freely as any native.* So in the orders made at the Popish generall Assembly at *Kilkenny*, Octo. 24. 1642 Ord. 14. & Order 33 ¶ Irish Remonstrance, p. 31.

Netherlands ſhould be united in a league of mutuall defence, then that we of this Kingdome ſhould firſt breake aſunder by diviſion, and then breake in upon each other with enraged violence; *For if all the crafty Counſels of* Spaine, *of the Conclave of the Pope and Cardinals, of the Congregations of Ieſuites and other Aſſemblies of peſtilent Politicians (our ſworne Enemies) ſhould lay their heads together, for an undoing device againſt us, they could not imagine any one more dangerous and deſperate, then that which we are now acting upon our ſelves*; The Lord open the eyes and turne the hearts of thoſe in whoſe power it is, to ſound a Retreat to this Martiall fury: That *Engliſh* valour may be diverted from the ruine of *England* to the recovery of *Ireland*, or if the Sword of warre muſt be the Sword of divine Juſtice, to avenge the quarrell of thy Covenant againſt a rebellious people, Let it, O Lord, (we beſeech thee) doe moſt execution upon thine obdurate enemies, and ſway thou the victory upon their ſide, whoſe cauſe and perſons have better title to thine Almighty protection.

Thus farre of the Queſtion, *How long ſhall I ſee*, &c. as importing the Prophets ſtrong apprehenſion of, and vehement averſion from the evill of warre.

Now of the Anſwer, *For my people is fooliſh, they have not knowne me, they are ſottiſh children, they have none underſtanding, they are wiſe to doe evill, but to doe good, they have no knowledge.*

They neither know God nor acknowledge or glorifie him as God, but ſet their wits on worke for wickedneſſe, therin having a kind of cunning, (which the unwiſe world calleth wiſdome) while they remaine ignorant, inconſiderate, dull and ſtupid towards the doing of good.

The words are conſiderable { 1. In generall. 2. In particular.

In

In generall they containe two parts.
1. An Accusation, *My people are*, &c.
2. An Exception. *They are wise to do evill.*

Under the accusation are comprehended two points of Importance. The one *expressed*; The other *implied*; that which is *expressed* is the cause of the calamities fore-mentioned, *For my people*, or because *my people is foolish*, &c. And that will direct us to a two-fold Observation.

First, The one of the Malignant operations of sin, in procuring heavy punishments upon a people.

2. The other the disgracefull denomination of sinners, or the contemptible titles given unto them, as *foolish, sottish, without knowledge or understanding.*

The particular *implied* is the continuance of sin, for the Question being expressely made of the continuance, *How long?* and implicitely of the cause; the answer is satisfactory to both, shewing not only, why the people are plagued, but that so long they shall be plagued, untill they be reformed: untill the cause of their sinfull folly be removed, they shall not, or not in mercy be eased of their misery; as long as they be so bad in their disposition towards God, they must looke for no better a condition from God.

First, For the cause in the 18. *verse*, the Indictment against them is framed under other titles, *Thy way and thy doings have procured these things unto thee, this thy wickednesse, because it is bitter, because it reacheth unto thine heart.* So likewise in the *Lamentation* of *Ieremy*. *Ierusalem* (saith the Prophet) *hath grievously sinned, therefore shee is removed.* Chap. 1. ver. 8. And that it is not the peculiar case of *Ierusalem*, he sheweth in more generall tearmes: *Wherefore doth living man complaine, and man for the punish-*

*ment of his ſinnes? Lam.*3.39. or (as the *Geneva* hath it) *Wherefore is the living man ſorrowfull? He ſuffereth for his ſinnes.* And *Ieruſalem* her ſelfe, as if ſhe made anſwer to ſome ſuch Queſtion as this, pleadeth not any excuſe of her ignorance, but cleareth Gods Juſtice, and freely and fully taketh the Accuſation of her ſinnes upon her ſelfe: *The Lord is righteous, for I have rebelled againſt his Commandements*, Chapt. 1. ver. 18. *We have tranſgreſſed and thou haſt not pardoned*, Chap:3.42. Which is not to be underſtood of the people only, but (with them) of the Prophets and the Prieſts, *for the ſins of her Prophets, and the iniquity of her Prieſts, did* Jeruſalems *miſery come upon her*, Chap.4.12. *for the Prophets propheeied falſly, and the Prieſts bare rule by their meanes*, Jer. 5.31. And they ruled with bloudy and unrighteous rigour, *For they ſhed the blood of the Iuſt, in the midſt of* Jeruſalem, Chapt. 4. ver. 13. And in the 30. Chapter, God emphatically avoweth his owne Juſtice againſt their wickedneſſe, in theſe words, *I have wounded thee with the wound of an enemy, with the chaſtiſement of a cruell one, for the multitude of thine iniquity, becauſe thy ſinnes were increaſed. Why crieſt thou for thine afflictions? Thy ſorrow is incurable, for the multitude of thine iniquity: becauſe thy ſins were increaſed, I have done theſe things unto thee*, ver.14,15.

So that we muſt not take this Text, though it impute ignorance unto theſe Jewes, to import any extenuation of their tranſgreſſions which may ſerve to excuſe them, either *a toto*, or *a tanto*, as ſometimes ignorance is pleaded, by way of argument, or inducement to compaſſion, and pardon, as it is by God himſelfe, in the Prophecie of *Ionah*, *Should I not ſpare* Nineveh, *that great City, wherein are more then ſixſcore thouſand perſons, that cannot diſcerne betweene their right and their left hand, and alſo much Cattell?* and by our Saviour, *Father, forgive them, they know not what they do*,

*Luk.*23.34. and as S. *Paul* giveth inſtance in his own caſe, *I was before a blaſphemer, and a perſecutour, and injurious: but I obtained mercy, becauſe I did it ignorantly in unbeleefe*, 1 *Tim.*1.13. for ſuch ignorance was partly inevitable, partly involuntary, but this was neither, and therefore it is urged rather by way of aggravation, to augment their guilt: as in the firſt of *Eſay*, *Heare O ye Heavens, and give care O earth, for the Lord hath ſpoken, I have nouriſhed and brought up children, but they have rebelled againſt me; the Oxe knoweth his owner, and the Aſſe his Maſters cribb, but* Iſrael *doth not know, my people doth not conſider; ah ſinnefull Nation, a people laden with iniquity*, &c. *chap.*1. *ver.*2,3,4.

Now ſince the Prophet, the people, and God himſelfe, ſo expreſly put together the cauſe and the effect, (ſinne and puniſhment) and that the puniſhment expreſſed in the queſtion, ſinne is implied in the Anſwer, for not to know and acknowledge God, (as God) is a ſinne as ſure as well as a folly, we muſt firſt obſerve, *the Malignant operation of ſinne in procuring puniſhment upon a people*, and it is doctrinely or hiſtorically ſo univerſally diffuſed throughout the whole Bible, from *Gen.*2.17. to *Revelations* 22.19. that (beſides the teſtimonies alleadged) there will be no need of farther proofe, (from divine Authority) to confirme it, though ſome parts of it, doe more fully cleare and preſſe this point, then others doe; as the 26. of *Levit.* the 28. of *Deut.* the *Lament.* of *Ieremy.*

And for them who never read a leafe of theſe divine Dictates, as they have by the light of nature diſcerned a great difference betwixt Vertue and Vice, (as their Bookes of Ethicks, or morall Philoſophy ſufficiently ſhew) ſo have their conſciences cheared them up in well doing, and checked them for evill, *Rom.*2.15. and by the ſame light they have apprehended a divine Judge or Juſticiarie, obſerving the minds, and wayes of wicked men, and imprinting his

" *Ammian Marcelli* (an Heathen Souldier) obſerveth the juſt judgement of the Almighty-powers in puniſhing *Maximinus* and other bloody butchers. *Marcel.* hiſt. l. 25. c. 5. See alſo the diſcourſe in *Plutarchs* Moralls, *de Sera numinis vindicta.*

his diſpleaſure upon them, in outward plagues: and have thence inferred their duty, to addreſſe themſelves unto him in ſupplications, and other meanes of pacification of his anger: as the Mariners (in whoſe Ship *Ionah* would have ſayled to *Tharſhiſh*,) ſhewed, by their inquiry by Lotts for the guilty perſon who was the cauſe of the Tempeſt, *Ionah cap.1. ver.5,7.* and by the continuall practice of the Heathens in ſacrifices to the gods they ſerved, (acknowledging ſinne to be the cauſe of their common calamities,) and offering them up for pacification of an offended Deity.

I need not then ſpend time, either in clearing of this obſervation by examples, or aſſuring it by Authorities and reaſons: nor will it be neceſſary, to bring downe the generall guilt, and hurt of ſinne, by ſhewing how troubleſome a thing it is in breaking peace betwixt God and man, *Lament.2. ver.4,5,6,7,8.* and 17.21. *chap.3. ver.3,5.* and 15. *chap.4.11. Eſay.57.20.* a man and his owne conſcience, and betwixt Man and Man in Forraine and Civill Warre, *Hab.1.8. Eſa.19.2.* this (I doubt not) is done to mine hand already, neither is there cauſe I ſhould be copious in application of it to your conſciences, ſince ſome of my reverend Bretheren (I conceive) who have had precedence before me in this place) have anticipated the delivery of this doctrine, and driven it home to your hearts.

All I conceive requiſite for this point at this time will be, to make a briefe Application of it, to our preſent ſtate, and ſo to proceed to the other point, of the folly of ſinne and ſinners, which I ſuppoſe hath been leſſe inſiſted on by any, (though it be not leſſe worthy of proſecution at large, nor will be leſſe profitable to thoſe that give due attendance unto it.)

Firſt then for the preſent point, the guilt of ſinne being expreſſely ſhewed by this anſwer of God, to be the cauſe of all the evill (which was ſo grievous to the Prophet.) It is

is our parts what tribulation ſoever light upon us, to give God the glory of his Juſtice, without murmuring at any thing he doth, or we ſuffer under his correcting hand: and to make a free confeſſion of our ſinnes, (without mincing) as *Dan.9.* the holy Prophet having a joint apprehenſion of the peoples provocation of God by their ſinnes, and of Gods indignation againſt them, expreſſed in his puniſhment of them, for that cauſe, maketh his confeſſion to God in this manner, *We have ſinned and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled:* the abundant hatred of ſinne, in his heart, made him ſo full in the mouth, with multiplication of words, of the ſame ſence, for the aggravation and deteſtation of ſinne: yet he goeth on, *we have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts, and from thy judgements*, ver.5. and then he cometh to the cauſe, whereby they came to ſuch a guilt of ſinne, it was from their refuſall of their guidance, whom God had ſent to leade them in the right way, (and how could they but wander when they forſooke the light) *neither have we harkened* (ſaith he) *unto thy ſervants the prophets, which ſpake in thy Name, to our Kings, our Princes and our Fathers, and to all the people of the land*, ver.6. he ſpareth no perſon, great or meane, paſt or preſent, ver.6. *Becauſe of all this*, hee taketh both the ſinne and the ſhame upon himſelfe and his Countreymen, and giveth God the due glory of his owne Juſtice in their puniſhment. *O Lord Righteouſneſſe belongeth unto thee, but unto us ſhame and confuſion of face as at this day, becauſe of their treſpaſſe that they have treſpaſſed againſt thee*, ver.7.

And from this generality of ſinners and ſinnes to deſcend to a ſearch of particulars in both, both for every man that ſinneth, and every ſinne that he committeth: and then if we looke back upon our precedent carriage towards God, and his preſent dealing towards us, we may have cauſe

cauſe to conceive, not only that the burden of our ſinnes (in common) *have preſſed him even as a Cart is preſſed with Sheaves*, Amos 2.ver.13. and that he hath great cauſe in the generall, to eaſe himſelfe by diſeaſing them, who overloaded him with ſuch a wicked weight, as he ſaith he will doe, *Ah I will eaſe me of mine adverſaries, and avenge me of mine enemies*, Eſa.1.24. But withall that there be ſome ſins in particular more provocative then others, which ſpurre on vengeance to a ſwifter pace; and thoſe were come to ſome height, in our State, before theſe calamities, (which many have felt, and all have feared) came downe upon us, and chiefely theſe three. Firſt, *Idolatry*. Secondly, *Prophanation of the Sabboth*. Thirdly, *Contempt of Gods moſt faithfull ſervants*; and then wee ſhall proceed to a confutation of the miſconceits of the wicked touching the cauſe of calamity, and ſo conclude with an apology for the godly.

First, For *Idolatry*, I will not tell you (of my ſelfe) how much it hath increaſed in a few years before the ſummons of the Honourable Senate now aſſembled, you may receive information for that, by better warrant, then any private or particular intelligencer can give, in the * firſt Remonſtrance of the Parliament, in theſe words;

See Ord p.143, 144.

*First Remonſtrance, p 18, 19.

The Popiſh party enjoyed ſuch exemptions from the Penall Laws, as amounted to a Toleration, beſides many other encouragements, and Court Favours: They had a Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebank, *a powerfull Agent for the ſpeeding of all their deſires, a Popes* Nuntio *reſiding here to act and governe them according to ſuch influences as he received from* Rome, *and to intercede for them with the moſt powerfull concurrence of the Forraigne Princes of that Religion: By his authority the Papiſts of all ſorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy were convocated, after the manner of a Parliament; New Iuriſdictions were erected of Romiſh Arch-biſhops, Taxes levyed, another State*

moulded

moulded within this State independant in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant, or negligent professours of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were sound, in this posture waiting for an opportunity by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce.

If compliance with Popery, should advance so many degrees, in every 12. or 13. yeares space, as it hath done since the yeare 1628. they that have been solicited (for above threescore yeares) in vaine, to abate some (at the best indifferent) Ceremonies, for more conformity with the reformed Protestant Churches, might within a Jubile (of the † shortest size) become as compleate Papists as any reside at *Rome* or *Rhemes*.

† A Iubile of 25. yeares, shortened from 50. by *Sixt.* 4. Anno 1475. *Buchol.* p. 415

And what an incentive of wrath Idolatry is, we may conjecture, by the neere relation betwixt God and his people, as by the conjunction of Wedlock, *Hose. 2. ver. 16, 19.* whence Idolatry is accompted by God spirituall whoredome. *Ezek. 16. ver. 22, 26, 28, 32, 35, 38. Hose. 2. 1, 2.* which enkindleth the rage of jealousie against the disloyall party, *for jealousie, saith Solomon, is the rage of a man, therefore he will not spare in the day of vengeance, he will not regard any ransome, neither will he rest content, though thou give many gifts,* Prov. 6. ver. 34, 35.

And that the wrath of a jealous God, is not more remisse in such a case then that of a jealous man, we may be sure of, by the patheticall expression of the Prophet *Nahum, God is jealous, and the Lord avengeth, the Lord avengeth, and is furious, the Lord will take vengeance of his adversaries, and he reserveth wrath for his enemies,* Nah. 1. 2. and he counteth those rather his adversaries and enemies, who breake covenant with him, (as the *Iewes* did in their Idolatrous desertions of him) then the most notorious transgressours that never entred covenant with him, as the *Sodomites*,

mites, and therefore doth *Ieruſalem*, or the Prophet (in her Name complaine,) *the puniſhment of the iniquity of my people, is greater then the puniſhment of the ſinne of* Sodome, *Lament.* 4. *ver.* 6. and ſo indeed it was, if we limit our conſideration of it to a temporall calamity: for that of *Sodome* (in that reſpect) was but of one ſort, and it was ſodaine, quickly at an end, whereas the Jewes, (by warres, famine and captivity) indured many kinds of miſery, vehement in degree, permanent in time, whereof they would have taken a ſodaine death, for a certaine remedy by what Element or inſtrument ſoever.

The ſecond particular ſinne is the breach of the holy reſt of God, in the violation of the Sabbath; which was never ſo prophaned, with heart, and hand, and foote, and tongue, and pen, and preſſe, as of late yeares it had beene, ſixteene hundred yeares (from Chriſt downeward,) have not diſgorged ſo much gaule againſt the Sabbath, nor ſpent ſo much Inke, or brought forth ſo many tracts of detraction of the divine dignity, and holy duties of that day, as theſe laſt 40. yeares have done, and is it not juſt with God, that thoſe who would juſtle his religious reſt out of it's right, ſhould be reſtleſſe in their condition? as the Jewes complained, *our necks are under perſecution, we labour and have no reſt*, Lam. 5. 5. by continuall agitations of hoſtility. The reformed Churches (never throughly reformed in this point, (though of late better then they have beene) have been grievouſly ſcourged, and the more it is like for this ſin; and we ſince we have been deformed like them, and would conforme to them in their liberty on the Sabbath, but will not indure any of their ſtrict diſcipline of manners, we have beene made partakers of their preſſures.

The third provoking impiety is, the contempt of the Miniſtery (wherein the diſhonour of the divine Majeſty is involved,) *Luk.* 10. 16. and with him his ordinances, his word

word and Sacraments, and whatsoever he hath consecrated as serviceable to the glory of his name, and salvation of his people; and when were Ministers more contemned then of late yeares they have been, when by greater numbers, or by greater persons, or in deeper degrees of disgrace and disdaine, and yet are even at this day?

I deny not but divers of our Tribe, have been entertained with a civill respect, in regard of their good parts, as for their wit or learning, eloquence of speech, elegancy of carriage, perhaps (somewhat too Court-like) and for their riches, or refference to great persons, their siding with some potent party, in times of faction. And I confesse the Bishops have found great friends, to support their preeminency, as well the Temporall as Eccleſiasticall which (of old, and even of late at the " Councell of *Trent*, was thought to consist rather in the Pulpit then in the Chaire.

" *Predicationis munus quod Episcoporum præcipium est*, Concil. Trident. Sess. 24. c 4.

But abstracting from these and such like secular plausibilities, if a Minister have set himselfe in good earnest to preach and presse sound doctrine to the conscience, and punctually to exemplifie it in his owne life and conversation, if as an *Embassadour from Christ* (as he is by his calling, 2 *Cor.* 5.20.) and (as in duty he ought) he deliver *all the councell of God*, Act. 20.27. lest keeping back any part of it, he should be guilty of the blood of souls, v. 26. if he have taken the boldnesse to admonish and rebuke the rich as well as the poore, as he may and must doe, 1 *Tim.* 6.17. *Iames* 5. *ver.* 1. if, in the administration of the Sacrament, he have endeavoured to put difference *betweene the holy and prophane, the uncleane and the cleane*, Ezek. 44.23. to keepe such as are *like doggs and swine* (Mat 7.6.) from the holy Table of the Lord, least they should *eate and drinke their owne damnation*, 1 Cor. 11. and have not denyed to deliver the consecrated symboles of the body and blood of Christ, to such as made scruple of the gesture, enjoyned

by the Canon, though otherwiſe moſt worthily prepared, for the receiving thereof (* in which caſe it is not only lawfull to receive them, but unlawfull to reject them) if he have oppoſed prophane paſtimes, or ſuperſtitious cuſtomes, ſuch an one (and he that is not ſuch an one, howſoever accompted of by men, is not approved of God) hath been more hated, contemned, reviled and perſecuted, by the moſt, and ſome of the greateſt, in many places (as we ſee at this day) then ſuch as ſhew little care, or conſcience of ſaving, either their own ſoules or others (whereof they have uſurped the charge) and are ſo farre below the endowments of ſufficient ſhepheards, that they are not competently qualified to be a ſheepe of the fold.

* That this is no time-ſerving Tenet, my diſcourſe is witneſſe (penned and peruſed by divers learned Divines 14 years agoe) to proove that the Canon cannot diſcharge a Miniſter from his duty, charged upon him at his Ordination for preaching the Word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments to any, unleſſe greater exception can be taken againſt thē, thē their doubting of the lawfulneſſe of any particular geſture.

And how much this bad uſage, of the beſt of Gods ſervants, may provoke their great Maſters wrath againſt a people, you may gueſſe, by *Davids* high diſpleaſure againſt the Princes of *Ammon*, and the revenge he tooke of them, for their baſe abuſe of his Embaſſadours, 2 *Sam.*10. from the fourth *verſe* to the end of the *Chapter*; but you may be ſure, the Lord will ſeverely puniſh this high contempt of his moſt holy and worthy ſervants, by that you may reade, 2 *Chr.*c.36. *the Lord God of their Fathers ſent to them, by his meſſengers, riſing up betimes and ſending, becauſe he had compaſſion on his people, and on his dwelling place: but they mocked the meſſengers of* GOD, *and deſpiſed his word, and miſuſed his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord aroſe againſt his people, till there was no remedy,* 2 Chron.*chap.*36. *ver.*15,16. no remedy, but he muſt take revenge of the unſufferable wrongs done againſt his owne Majeſty and his Miniſters fidelity, ſuch indignities againſt them, cannot but provoke great indignation in the Almighty; and that may be like to fall upon the offenders, in a ſtorme of War, as the next *verſe* ſheweth, *therefore he brought upon them the Sword of the* Chaldees, *who ſlew their young men with the*

Sword

Sword, in the house of their Sanctuary: and had no compassion upon young men or maidens, or on the old man who stooped for age, ver. 17.

And it is no lesse, but rather a greater Judgement, when in the same Nation, a Civill Warre is enkindled, as when the *Egyptians were set against the* Egyptians, *and they fought every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, City against City*, Esa. 19.2. but especially when Gods owne people, professors of the same Religion, are up in Armes (one against another) as *Manasseh against* Ephraim, *Ephraim against* Manasseh, *and both against* Judah, *Esa.* 9.21. And (as now we feele to our sorrow) in the stormy commotions of our owne Kingdome, wherein Protestant is stirred up against Protestant, City against City, yea in Cities, Townes, villages and Families, many *Esau's* and *Iacobs* strugling, (as in the wombe of *Rebeccah*) Husband and Wife, Fathers and Children, Bretheren and Bretheren, breaking through the strongest bonds of covenant and nature, (obliging them to love and peace) into division and dissention, and yet better so divided (I confesse) then that all should hold together to drive on a designe to the undoing of three Kingdomes.

And if we looke beyond the reward of wickednesse, (in this world) to the judgement to come, we shall discover a danger, to such contemners of the Lords Ministers, far worse, then any that attendeth on the Trumpet or Standard: It is that which our Saviour threatneth in the tenth of *Math. Whosoever shall not receive you, nor your words, when you depart out of that house or City, shake off the dust of your feet, verily (I say unto you) it shall be more tolerable for* Sodome *and* Gomorrah, *in the day of judgement, then for that City*, Mat. 10. *ver.* 14. & 15.

And if it be a thing so displeasing to God, so dangerous to men not to receive his servants into their houses, what is

it then, to drive them out of their Countryes? or ſhut them up in priſon? to ſtrip them of their cloathes, to put them in naſty dungeons, to deprive them of diet neceſſary to the ſupport of nature? And if the duſt of their feet ſhall be a witneſſe againſt them that receive them not (for that is the meaning of that fore-cited command given by our Saviour, and practiſed by the Apoſtles, *Act.* 13.51.) what a Conviction will be againſt them, by the words of their mouths, by many ſound and excellent Sermons, preached unto them by their exemplary lives in holy converſation ſet before them.

Thoſe who contemne the true Miniſters of the Goſpell in theſe times, will haply ſay, that if they were men of ſuch extraordinary gifts, in prophecying and caſting out Devils, and in miraculous and mighty operations (as thoſe in whoſe behalfe our Saviour gave out ſo ſevere a Commination) we might expect more reſpect, and have it too, otherwiſe not. *To which the Anſwer may be,

Firſt, That the acceptation of Gods Miniſters, ſhould not be made for thoſe extraordinary Acts, wherewith themſelves may be damned, *Mat.* 7.22. and others deceived, 2 *Theſſ.* 2.9,10. and none ſaved without other helps, 1 *Cor.* 13.2. but for the glad tidings of the Goſpell, for diſpenſation of the word and Sacraments, the only ordinary meanes of mans ſalvation, for their delivering Gods will unto the people in preaching, and the peoples deſires to God in praying; whereby they may be ſaved without miracles, but not by miracles without them, and for ſuch gifts and acts, as ſerve more for the peoples profit, then the Preachers credit; and yet this miniſtration of righteouſneſſe, the righteouſneſſe of faith by the Goſpell is exceeding glorious, 2 *Cor.* 3.ver.8,9,10. So *that the feet of thoſe that bring it, ſhould be beautifull* to thoſe to whom it was brought, *Rom.* 10.15.

Second-

Secondly, Though they pretend to put ſuch difference betwixt thoſe extraordinary meſſengers of old, and theſe of later dayes, as if (had they lived with them) they would not have dealt with them, as they doe with theſe of their owne time: their tongues either hypocritically be-lie their malit ous hearts, or their fallacious hearts cunningly delude themſelves, as theirs did, *Who builded the Tombes of the Prophets, and garniſhed the Sepulchers of the righteous, and ſaid, If we had been in the dayes of our Fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets*, Math. 23. 30, 31. When in the meane time, they did farre worſe: for they thirſted after the bloud of Chriſt, the Sonne of God, and purſued him with implacable ſpight to the death, to whom all the Patriarks, Prophets and Apoſtles, Martyrs and Saints (how many, how worthy ſoever, yea and all the Angels of Heaven taken to them) were not ſo much as one Graſſe-hopper, to all the Inhabitants of the world, were all of them as glorious, as *Salomon* in his Royalty.

And I doubt not but if Chriſt himſelfe, were now alive upon the Earth, and yet (by his paſſion) to make an expiation of the ſinnes of the world, and ſhould ſo make himſelfe knowne to be the holy one of God, as he did at his firſt comming, and ſhould be ſo ſevere in his life, as never to laugh, ſe impartiall in reproofe as to ſpare neither King nor Subject, *Luk.* 13. 32. Prieſt nor people, friend nor foe, *Math*, 16. 23. and ſo ſharpe in rebukes and comminations, as you may reade him in the 23. of *Math.* from the 13. verſe to the end of the Chapter: there would be found (among the men of this faithleſſe and treacherous generation thoſe, who are neither true to King nor Kingdome.) not one, but many a *Iudas* to betray him; many *Scribes* and *Phariſees* to purſue him with ſlanderous accuſations, an irreligious rabble to make a clamorous out-cry againſt

againſt him, *Crucifie him, crucifie him*, an Heathen *Pilat* to paſſe a deadly ſentence upon him, a *Longius* or to correct the Legend, a *Lonchius* (that is a Speare-man ſouldier) to pierce him, and many one of that pilfaging profeſſion (as it is uſed at this day) to ſpoyle him of his garments and not as the Souldiers (who were his guard to Mount *Calvary*) to diſpoſe of it, with a formality of Juſtice, as either equally to devide it, or entirely to allot it to one, by caſting of lots for it, as they did, *Iohn* 19.23,24. but (with a plundering expedition) to ſnatch it away, and ſo keep it as an incommunicable prey.

And that I am not uncharitable in this conjecture, you will eaſily acknowledge, if you doe but obſerve, how the moſt faithfull, conſtant and powerfull Preachers, and the moſt ſincere and conſcionable Chriſtians in all places, (where the prophane and Popiſh Tyrants doe prevaile) are perſecuted, and if overtaken, oppreſſed with all kinds and degrees of contempt and cruelty; and that for Chriſts ſake, even for endeavouring to do his will, and to be conformable to him in life and converſation.

And yet theſe men (ſuch as the Prophet *Ezekiell* ſheweth to have affinity or rather conſanguinity with beaſts, *Bruiſh men and skillfull to deſtroy*, Cha. 21. ver. 31.) take upon them the Name of Chriſtians, and which is more, moſt of them pretend themſelves Champions for the true Proteſtant Religion, when they doe what they can to root it out, by ruining thoſe, who moſt ſincerely profeſſe it, and (which is yet more then that, and an undoubted evidence of his egregious impoſture, who ſo *blinds the minds of men*, as to make himſelfe (though a Devill, to be taken for a *God*, 2 Cor. 4.4.) There are many who believe what theſe profeſſe (though their practiſe be moſt contrary) and adhere unto them to the hazard of all their owne temporall being, and eternall well-being, for with them they purſue

sue the slaughter of Gods deareſt ſervants, with ſuch a mad Malignity, as if it were a ſervice acceptable to himſelfe.

Thus we ſee that fullfilled on our Saviours Diſciples in our dayes, which he fore-told (of his Apoſtles) many hundred years ago, *whoſoever killeth you will thinke that he doth God ſervice*, Joh. 16.2.

And they are moved to this madneſſe (many times) by a miſconceit of the ſoundeſt Chriſtians (which we muſt confute & return upon themſelvs) as if they were the cauſes of the common calamities of a Kingdom or Nation: a ſtale ſlander of Satan, caſt upon the beſt in the precedent Ages (as * many of the Ancients teſtifie) and eaſily taken up at any time againſt the moſt godly, to whom all publike plagues (whether from † Heaven or earth or water, whether of warre, famine or peſtilence) were imputed, as procured by their impieties: becauſe they did not worſhip *Heathen Deities*, and thereupon (as convicted of the guilt, and deſert of all thoſe miſeries) they were preſently hurried *to be devoured of Lions*. Of the like doting idolatry and calumny the beſotted *Iewes* in *Ieremiahs* time were accuſed, and by him convicted; for they aſcribed their proſperity to their ſervice of the *Queene of Heaven* in offering up *Cakes and burning Incenſe unto her*, and their adverſity to their omiſſion of that Idolatry, *Ier.* 44. 17, 18. When the quite contrary was true, and ſo much was averred by that holy Prophet to their faces, *ver.* 20, 21, 22, 23. of the ſame Chapter.

So when Heathens have caſt the calumnies of their calamities upon Chriſtians; the learned and religious Fathers of thoſe times, have both refuted and retorted them upon themſelves, for example || *Auguſt.* (in anſwer to their ſlanders of the Chriſtians Religion) ſheweth the happy condition of Chriſtian Emperours, and † *That they who durſt not be*

* *Arnob lib. 1. contra gent. Tertullian Apologet c 40. Origen l. 3. contra Celſum. Euſeb l 4. Hiſt. Eccleſ c. 12. Ciprian. l. adver. Demetrian Auguſt. Retract. l. 2. c. 43. & de Civ. Dei l. 1. c. 30 & l. 4. c. 30 & 31*

† *Si Tiberis aſcendit ad mœnia ſi Nilus non aſcendit in arvum, ſi cœlum ſtetit, ſi terra movit, &c ſtatim Chriſtianos ad Leones. Tertul. Apologet p 36. 40 Edit. 2. Nic Rigaltij Lutet. 1641.*

|| *Aug de Civ. Dei. l 5. c. 24, 25 26.*

† *Romani qui vitæ integritate malæ metuebant ab hoſtibus (perdita integritate vitæ) crudeliora patiebantur à civibus. Ibid. l. 1. c. 30.*

be good for feare of warre from abroad, for their being bad, ſuffered farre more cruelties of their owne Country-men at home, then of forraigne enemies they had done.

If then we muſt frame an indictment againſt the Troublers of our *Iſrael*, either according to the tenour of Scripture, or experience of all times, we muſt doe it (and we may doe it moſt juſtly) in the names and for the crimes of ſuch as are adverſe to the vertue and power of godlineſſe for their ſpeculative and practicall Atheiſme, their robbing of God of his right in honouring of Idols and diſhonouring his name, and prophaning his Sabbath, and for being no leſſe injurious to man, then ſacrilegious to God, for they uſurpe a power (both perſonall and reall) over whatſoever their hearts deſire, and hands can compaſſe with the angle, net or dragg, *Hab.*1.15. or any other inſtrument, which brings in more by rapine then by right; and for their intemperance in meats and drinkes, their incontinence in delights (whereof ſome are ſuch as in modeſty we may not ſo much as mention) and all this committed with ſuch high degrees of exceſſe, as makes the kingdome of Heaven ſuffer violence in a forcible pulling down of divine vengeance upon the earth.

Therefore when any epidemicall danger is come upon a people, theſe Malefactors (whoſe wickedneſſe hath drawn it downe upon them) ſhould like *Achan* be ſtoned, *Ioſh.*7. *ver.*25. or as *Ionah* be caſt into the Sea, *Ion.*1.15. or as *Zimri* and *Cozbi* thruſt through with a Javelin, *Numb.*25. 8, & 9. *verſes*, that humane Juſtice, might make men capeable of divine mercy, as in thoſe caſes it did.

And on the contrary the Godly (that we may conclude this point, with their juſt Apology) by their intereſt in Chriſt (which gives them right to the enjoyment of all good things) 1 *Cor.*3.22,23. are the meanes of much happineſſe to any State or Kingdome, and for their ſakes, doe

the

the wicked enjoy the benefit of light and heate, of fruits of the earth and riches of the Sea, plenty and peace, and all the comforts of this life; and by the sincerity and importunity of their supplications, are the plagues (God sends among men) either remitted or removed, and sometimes the greatest crosses converted into blessings.

But when they dye, it is many times like *Sampsons* pulling downe the pillars of the house with him, *Judg.* 16. 29, 30. (their prayers and acceptation of their persons with God, being as the props on which a Temporall prosperity is supported,) and they leave a Kingdome destitute of defence, for they are as *Elisha* said of *Eliah, the Chariots of* Israel *and the Horse-men thereof*, 2 King. 2. 12. and therefore woe unto the wicked, when God takes the godly away from them: while *Lot* was in *Sodome* the City was safe, though prodigiously sinfull, *Gen.* 19. for God was so gratious to him, as to say he could doe nothing against the *Sodomites*, untill *Lot* had taken sanctuary in the City of *Zoar*, *ver.* 22. but when he was departed from them, a showre of Brimstone was powred downe upon them, *ver.* 24.

And at the finall consummation of all things, so it shall be with all the godly and wicked of the world, when the number of the elect is fully made up, and all the wheat for Gods Store-house growne full ripe, the Tares that were mingled with it, shall be bundled up for burning, after the fanning of his floore by Christ, whereby the solid graine and light chaffe are severed, that shall be first gathered into *his garner, and then this burned with unquenchable fire*, Mat. 3. 12. and when the *Sheepe and the Goates are separated, the one on the right hand of the Iudge, the other on the left*, and the Sheepe invited and admitted to his society, with *Come ye blessed of my Father, &c.* Mat. 25. 34. the Goates shall be presently cast off, with, *Depart ye cursed*, ver. 44. 41

Therefore if they were ſo wiſe, as to know their friends and Benefactours, they would endeere themſelves in their ſociety, as *Ruth* did in *Naomie's*, when ſhe ſaid, *Intreat me not to leave thee, nor to returne from following after thee, for whither thou goeſt I will goe, and where thou lodgeſt I will lodge, thy people ſhall be my people, and thy God my God, where thou dieſt will I die, and there will I be buried, the Lord doe ſo unto me and more alſo, if ought but death part thee and me,* Ruth 1.16,17.

But my Text ſaith, they are *fooliſh and ſottiſh children, they have none underſtanding:* So their folly is now (in it's proper place) to be conſidered; and from the *Malignant operation of ſinne* (procuring plagues upon a people) we may now come to the *diſgracefull denomination of ſinners.*

Where we ſhall principally obſerve the connexion of ſinne and folly: for their ſinne is rendred as a cauſe of their ſuffering the calamities of Warre, but under the name and notion of ignorance, folly and ſottiſhneſſe, and being bound in dutie and conſcience both, to know God and glorifie him, as God: their not knowing of him, and averſeneſſe from him, was their ſinne (for otherwiſe it would not make them worthy of Gods wrath, as *Ierem.*11.25.) ſo that ſinne and folly be aſſociates, for where ſinne is there is folly, as *Abigail* ſaid of *Nabal* to *David, Let not my Lord regard this man of* Beliall *(even* Nabal) *for as his name is, ſo is hee,* Nabal *is his name, and folly is with him,* 1 Sam. 25.25. She entitles him two wayes: Firſt by a Periphraſis, *Man of Beliall.* Secondly, by his proper name *Nabal.* The word *Beliall* ſignifieth one that is nothing worth, ſtarke naught, yea the worſt of wicked ones, even the Devill is called *Belial,* 1 Cor.6.15. And for his other (which is) his proper name *Nabal,* it ſignifieth firſt a ſapleſſe and unprofitable thing, as a drie leafe

leafe fallen from a Tree, which hath no moiſture in it, and then it is taken for an unprofitable perſon, and for a Foole, and a wicked man: and both in* Hebrew, Greeke, Latine and Engliſh, there is a cognation of Names, which notes the concurrence of folly and ſinne in the ſame ſubject.

* Some fetch the affinity of folly and ſinne, from *Cains* dwelling place the Land of *Nod Gen.*4.16. calling a wicked man *Nodite*, a *Cainite*, that is, one of *Cains* condition, or one that as *Iude* ſpeaketh, goeth *in the way of* Caine, therefore a *Foole*, *Noddy* or *Nodite*, a fit man to be an inhabitant of that Countrey, where he dwelt, but we need not looke ſo farre back for affinity betwixt folly and ſin, for the word rendered *fooliſh*, in my Text, and ſo uſed and tranſlated, *Zach* 11.15. is the ſame with our wonted word, for a wicked man, or wicked one, to wit, the word [*evill*] for that word is both Hebrew and Engliſh, and it ſignifieth not only *fooliſh and ignorant*, but *raſh and froward*: from the word *Nabal* may come the Latine *Nebulo*, which as the word *Nabal* may note a Knave and a fool; the Greeke word ἄνοια *folly*, and ἀνομία *ſinne*, differ but a letter, and it is like our Engliſh word [*Foole*] was derived of the Greeke word [φαῦλος] a wicked one.

So *Abigail* made the application forementioned: and as if they were not onely inmates in the ſame perſon, but Twinnes of the ſame birth, they are both of one age, of one ſtature; if ſinne be bigge like a Giant, folly is not little like a dwarfe, according to the degrees of the one, is the growth of the other, as we may obſerve by the confeſſion of *David*, *I have ſinned greatly* (ſaith he) *in that I have done*, and preſently after, *I have done very fooliſhly*, 2 Sam.24.10. great ſin and great folly goe together, and ſo *a very wicked man is a very foole*.

In proſecution of this point, I looke for a paradoxall prejudice, to oppoſe me, for there are many that ſtrongly believe, there is more affinity betwixt folly and piety, then betwixt folly and ſinne. I ſhall therefore hold my ſelfe obliged in diſcretion, more cleerely and fully to ſet forth the folly of ſinne, and the more firmely to aſſure and prove it, and that by a *double light*, the one of *Scripture*, the other of *Nature*, ſo that if a man have either of the eyes of his ſoule open, *the eye of Faith* as a Chriſtian, or the *eye of Reaſon* as a man, he ſhall eaſily diſcerne it.

Firſt for *Scripture*: they that reade it, and marke it, can-

not but obſerve, in the holy dialect thereof, that where folly is ſpoken of, or any of the denominatives of it (which are to be found above an hundred times) there for the moſt part a wicked man or wickedneſſe is meant. To preſent you with ſome paſſages, for inſtance, as with a little poeſie of flowers culled out of a large and fruitfull garden.

In the Booke of *Deut: Moſes* complaining firſt of the people, then to them, exchangeth both the perſon, and the phraſe thus; *they have corrupted themſelves, their ſpot is not the ſpot of my children, they are a perverſe and crooked generation*, Deut. 32. 5. and the next words are, *Doe yee thus requite the Lord O fooliſh people and unwiſe?* ver. 6. a corrupt, ſpotted, perverſe and crooked people, (which are fit Titles for a wicked people,) is a fooliſh and unwiſe people.

So *David* varying his Title, but keeping to the ſame ſubject, *Pſal.* 73. ſaith, *I was envious at the fooliſh, when I ſaw the proſperity of the wicked*, ver. 3. he might as well have ſaid, *I was envious at the wicked, when I ſaw the proſperity of the fooliſh*: for he meanes the ſame men, and the ſame vice, by both appellations; and in his owne caſe he paſſeth ſentence on himſelfe, in the like diſgracefull language, *Pſal.* 38. *Mine iniquities are gone over my head*, (ſaith he) *as an heavy burthen, they are too heavy for me, my wounds ſtinke, and are corrupt, becauſe of my fooliſhneſſe*, ver. 5. the ſame cauſe is conteined by turnes, in two termes, as the ſame ſand of the Houre-glaſſe in two bottles, thus is ſinfull ſimplicity or fooliſhneſſe ſimply condemned, and it is aggravated, by way of compariſon, where a wicked man is ſet to Schoole to, and ſhewed to be more ignorant then an Oxe or an Aſſe, *Eſa.* 1. 3. then a Storke, *Ier.* 8. 7. then the Piſmire, *Pro.* 6. 6.

In the Proverbs of *Solomon*, the nomenclature, or phraſe of the affinity betwixt ſinne and folly, is too familiar, to require quotations out of them: and now (as in the mid-way) betwixt Religion and Reaſon, and in our paſſage, from the one

one to the other, we may take a teſtimony or two, out of the Booke of *Eccleſiaſticus:* which is a kind of Participle of Scripture Divinity, and Morall Philoſophy, and ſo we uſe it, not as for a prooſe or aſſurance of Faith, for no humane Dictates, (as that is) have place on the Tribunall of infallible Truth, but onely at the Barre of rationall Evidence: which yet in this cometh neerer demonſtrative conviction, then topicall probability; the wiſe Authour of that Booke (ſpeaking of the ſinner) ſaith, *hee ſhall be left to his fooliſhneſſe*, Eccleſiaſticus 23.8. and in the 16th. Chapter, *he that is God* (ſaith he) *was not pacified towards the old Giants, who fell away in the ſtrength of their fooliſhneſſe*, ver.7. he might have ſaid, in his ſenſe, in the ſtrength of their wickedneſſe: (for their ſinnes were like themſelves, Giant-like, or *mighty ſinnes* (as the Prophet *Amos* gives the Epithite, *Chap.*5.12.) and their fooliſhneſſe was equall to their ſinnes, mighty or ſtrong fooliſhneſſe: and ſpeaking of a very wiſe Father, and of a very fooliſh Sonne, (*Solomon* and *Rehoboam*) his words are, *Solomon reſted with his Fathers, and he left behind him* Rehoboam, *the fooliſhneſſe of the people, and one that had none underſtanding, and turned away the people through his counſell*, Eccluſ.47.23.

Here was counſell, but none underſtanding, (wiſe counſell the while) he turned away the people from ſerving the Lord, the counſell that was turned to ſuch an evill purpoſe, muſt needs be as wicked as unwiſe, ſo the peoples wickedneſſe was his wickedneſſe, becauſe he ſeduced them to it, and he not their foole, but their fooliſhneſſe in *abſtracto*, becauſe his wickedneſſe was very wicked.

And that there is ſound ſence, and good reaſon (for the equivalence of theſe termes) *ſinner and foole, ſinne and folly*, the moſt prudent Doctor (of that ſect, which of all that are not Chriſtian, come neereſt, to the rules of Chriſtianity) ſheweth where he ſaith, *that a* * *Foole hath all manner of faults*

* *Stultus omnia vitia habet* Senec. *de benefic.* lib.4.cap.26.

faults in him, which we may invert, and as truely ſay, *a wicked man hath in him every folly.*

Now as in this Chapter, the people are charged firſt with wickedneſſe, and then with folly, ſo in the Poſition we undertake to prove, wickedneſſe ſhall have the precedence, as the ſubject, and fooliſhneſſe ſhall follow it, cloſe at the heeles, as the predicate, thus, *wickedneſſe is folly*, or becauſe it may make a better impreſſion *(in concreto) a wicked man is a foole*, by his indiſpoſition either to be or to doe good: which though I mention but once, muſt be vertually preſuppoſed, in every proofe I ſhall produce, and I am glad I have ſo many wiſe men to be judges of the evidence, I ſhall bring in for his conviction, and that ſhall conſiſt of ſeverall Arguments.

Firſt Some taken from the cauſes of folly.

Secondly, Some from the ſignes, markes and effects of it.

Firſt for the cauſes: folly is a defect, and therefore the cauſes of it are rather deficient then efficient, and they are,

Either { Without a man, Or Within him.

Without him is the want of a good Inſtructer and good Bookes, which wicked men willingly and witleſſely refuſe to heare and to reade, or if they doe, it is with ſo little heed as brings little fruit unto themſelves.

For the firſt, The beſt Inſtructer for any thing that is truely good, is God: by whom they that are not taught, can never be truely wiſe, or learned; but they that refuſe or contemne his Inſtruction, are many times puniſhed in their underſtanding, and that juſtly, with very fooliſh and mad miſtakings, and ſometimes given over to ſtrong and ſtrange illuſions. And the wiſer any Inſtructer is, the more doth the wicked man reject him, as we may reade in the third

third of the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, *Wisedome cryeth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets*, ver. 20. *How long (ye simple ones) will ye love simplicity, and the scorners delight in their scorning, and fooles hate knowledge?* ver. 22. Wisedome her selfe offereth to be their Instructer, but they *would none of her counsell*, ver. 30. and whereas *there is a spirit in men* (as *Elihu* said to *Iob*,) *and the Inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding*, Job 32. 8. the wicked are adverse to his spirit, and if it offer to enlighten them, and inflame them, they are ready (by their reluctancies) to quench the light and heate presented unto them, for that is it which the Apostle forbiddeth (and the wicked forbeare not) 1 *Thes.* 5. 19. and so in effect they say unto God, *depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy wayes*, Job 21. 14. and so *the Father of lights*, (as he is called, *Iames* 1. 17.) withholdeth the light of instruction from such, *because they love darkenesse rather then light*, Joh. 3. 19. and sheddeth forth his beames of illumination upon such, as have eyes to see it, and hearts to rejoyce in it.

And therefore, there is in this respect the like difference betwixt the Godly and the wicked, as was betwixt the *Israelites* and *Egiptians*, in respect of the Cloud that God put betwixt them, which to them was a bright Cloud, but to these a Cloud of darkenesse, *Exod.* 14. 20. So the Lord will enlighten his people, to see and to know, what is good for their safety: but those that list not to take him for their teacher, as the wicked doe not, are left to the blindnesse and darkenesse of their own understandings, and by that being no better then bruitish, (for every man is bruitish by his own knowledge, *Ier.* 10. 14.) we may say of them, (as the Lord doth in my Text,) *they are a foolish people, sottish children, they have none understanding.*

Secondly, for the Booke, which is the treasurie of sound and saving instruction, (to wit the word of God,) wherein

(as" S. *Auguſtine* ſaid) there is a marvellous profoundnes, and he trebles his words of it by way of admiration, *it ſelfe which maketh wiſe the ſimple, purifieth the heart, and enlighneth the eyes*, Pſal. 19.7,8. *and makes a man wiſer then his enemies*, Pſal. 119. ver. 98. *yea wiſer then his teachers*, ver. 99. (if he ply that Booke more diligently then they,) But the wicked hath no liking of it, takes no delight in it, and if ſometimes he reade or heare any part of it, he never learnes it by heart, but ſo little remembers or reſpects it, as to doe quite contrary to it: and they *that reject the word of the Lord* (and therein they reject him alſo) *what wiſedome is in them?* Jer. 8.9. if they be ſuch *Rebels againſt the light*, Job 24.13. God can and in Juſtice he may, *make their Sunne goe downe at noone*, Amos 8.9. *and make all their wayes darkneſſe*, Prov. 2.13. he can ſmite the Horſe with aſtoniſhment, and his rider with madneſſe, *Zach.* 12.1. he can make *Iudges* (that ſhould excell in wiſedome) *fooles*, Job 12.17. *Diviners mad, turne wiſemen backward, and make their counſell folly*, Eſa. 44.25. as he did *Achitophels*, 1 Sam. 15.31. he can (and he hath threatned to doe it, and he hath done it,) *ſmite the wicked with blindneſſe, madneſſe and aſtoniſhment of heart*, Deut. 28.28.

" Aug. *confeſſ.* l. 12. c. 14.

At leaſt when they reject God for their teacher, and his Booke for their leſſon, and like not to entertaine, or *retaine the knowledge of God in their minds*, he will give them over (and ſuch wilfull fooles well deſerve it) to a reprobate mind, *Rom.* 1.28. *Becauſe they receive not the love of the truth, that they may be ſaved, God ſends them ſtrong deluſions, to believe a lye, that they may be damned*, 2 Theſ. 2.10,11. and he may juſtly, (and often doth) give them up to his impoſtures, who of fooles, will make them mad-men, as he did the Scribes and Phariſees, *Luk.* 6.11. and who (when he hath them wholly in his power) will uſe them like to mad-men, keeping them in darke lodgings, under chaines and ſcourges.

Now

Now for the *cauſes of the folly within themſelves:* they are as deficient, concerning ſuch as would conduce to their prudent direction, as in their want of a good teacher, or of ſuch good leſſons of his Booke as would make them wiſe, if they did not very unwiſely reject or neglect them both, their defect in themſelves, (which increaſeth their folly) is manifold; as

Their want
1. Of Intelligence.
2. Of Memory.
3. Of Method.
4. Of Diligence.
5. Of Conſideration, concerning thoſe things, which are of greateſt moment, to make them truely wiſe, and happy: *for their wiſe wickedneſſe*, (for the Prophet ſaith, *they are wiſe to doe evill*) we ſhall ſpeake of that under the other generall part of the *verſe*, which is the *exception*.

For the firſt, if we conſider the godly and the wicked in their phyſicall temperament (which hath an influence I confeſſe upon the operations of the mind:) the obſervation of * *Voſſius*, belongeth equally to both, which is; *that the Inhabitants of the Northerne Climats are more ſtrong in body, but inferiour in wit to the Inhabitants of the South; becauſe the heate in thoſe, is more kept in, and ſo the blood groweth thicker, and the ſpirits groſſer in them, then it is in thoſe of the Southerne parts, whoſe ſpirits being more ſubtle, make their wits more ſharpe.* But as in this reſpect, (the godly and wicked) (who live under the ſame elevation of the Pole) may be even: ſo the godly have an advantage (for underſtanding) above the wicked, by the help of piety and temperance, for the wicked being deſtitute of divine light, (as hath beene ſaid before) that which is but meerely humane in them, is too dimme, and weake (towards the moſt excellent objects) to denominate them wiſe, or underſtanding men.

* *Gentes ſeptentrionales ſunt plurimùm ingenio inferiores, ſed robore ſuperiores Auſtralibus: cujus ratio eſt, quod ſub frigido axe membra indurentur ad quidvis tolerandũ, ſed ob inclusum interius calorem habent ſanguinem craſſiorem, contra quã uſu venit, auſtralibus quippe quibus in calore illo externo ſanguis & ſpiritus ſubtilior, unde & ingenio & ſapientia prevalent.* Ioh. Gerard *Voſſ de orig. & progreſſu Idolat.* lib. 2. cap 34. Tom. 1. p. 484.

For as the Apoſtle ſaith, *the naturall man receiveth not*, or (as the Geneva readeth the * Greeke word) *perceiveth not*, (and that will beare both interpretations) *the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſſe unto him*, neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned, 1 *Cor.* 2.14. and with the want of divine illumination, concurreth, (many times) a miſt of ſatanicall illuſion, *blinding the minds of the wicked*, 2 Cor.4.4. as was intimated before. And if he did not ſo farre benight them, (by putting his darke veile upon their intellectuall eyes) their underſtandings would yet be and certainly are ecclipſed, many times, by the exceſſe and diſorder of their unruly paſſions, and corrupt affections, as the light of a Candle is obſcured by puffs of ſmoake, from the pipes that tooke fire from it. I will give inſtance in the particulars, as

* Νοήται.

In { 1. *Love.* 2. *Deſire.* } { 3. *Anger.* 4. *Hate.* } { 5. *Hope.* 6. *Feare.* } { 7. *Sorrow.* 8. *Ioy.* }

All which, (if they exceed moderation) as they are hinderances to the health of the body, and haſtners of death, (as " elſewhere I have ſhewed) ſo are they great impediments in the mind, to true apprehenſion; and ſo great cauſes of errour and folly, and this moſt of all, in wicked men in whom they are commonly moſt predominant.

" In my Monit of Mortalit. *p.*14, 15, 16.

As for the *exceſſe of Love*, how it be-miſts and miſleads the underſtanding, we may ſee by its working ſeverall wayes, the love of beauty, is a Pearle in the eye of the mind, hindering it from diſcerning the difference betwixt Love and luſt, and ſometimes purſuing its own contentment, untill it bring forth the meere contrary affection: as we find in the ſtory of *Ammon* and *Thamar*, 2 *Sam.* 13. 15. it makes a man (though not otherwiſe unwiſe) to be eaſily deceived, and (after deceipt deiſcovered) to be taken again and again in the ſame ſnare; as we ſee in *Sampſon*, the eye of whoſe underſtanding was blinded, by his fond love

and

and delight in *Dalilah*, before the *Philiſtines* put out the eyes of his body: elſe he would never have truſted her, (as he did) after ſhe had thrice betraied him, *Iudg.* 16. from v. 6. to the 17. The love of gaine is a pin and webbe in the eye of a covetous man; thence a gift is ſaid to blind the eyes of the *wiſe*, Exod. 23.8. Through immoderate love of glory in the Phariſees of our Saviours time, though he did ſuch workes as no man could doe, and therefore his workes did ſufficiently teſtifie of him, that God had ſent him, as his Sonne, *Iohn* 5.36. *And ſpake ſuch words as never man ſpake*, *Iohn* 7.46. yet they did not know him, and were ſo farre from acknowledging of him, and believing in him, that they held the people both ignorant and accurſed, becauſe they did both, *Iohn* 7.48,49. and the reaſon was, becauſe *they loved the praiſe of men, more then the praiſe of God*; Joh. 12.43.

The like deceit doth darken the Conclave of the Roman Rabbies (the Pope and Cardinals, the Phariſees of the latter times) to this very day, by ſhutting out all informations of truth, which comport not with their proud ambitious and pragmaticall humour; hence it is that men perceive not the vileneſſe of their owne exceſſes, ſo as they doe other mens, as a covetous man will cry ſhame of a drunkard, and he againe will exclaime againſt the covetous: Little love or charity to their brethren and neighbours, making them quick-ſighted enough, for diſcovery of a mote in the eye of another, while ſelf-love ſo blindes them towards themſelves, that they cannot diſcerne a beame in their owne eyes, *Mat.* 7.3,4,5.

Deſire is an affection of neare alliance unto love, for what men dearely love, they eagerly deſire to enjoy, and it is of as neare affinity to folly and ſinne, if it be exceſſive: Such was the deſire of *Ammon* towards *Thamar*, whoſe luſting after her, made him *in his body leane from day to day*,

2 Sam.13.4. and in *his mind* ſo beſotted, as not to diſcerne that his love was luſt, his luſt inceſt: that inceſt was not onely a great ſinne in it ſelfe, but would prove a great ſhame to them both; *to him*, ſo as to make him accounted as one of the *fooles of Iſrael*, ver.13. *to her*, by taking from her, the honour of her virginity, and ſtayning her name with the ignominious note of an harlot: As the ſonnes of *Iacob* ſaid of their defloured ſiſter *Dinah*, Gen.34.31. And laſtly in making him believe, he ſhould find much content in the enjoyment of what he deſired, whereas his luſt was ſoone turned into hate, and the hate more, when he had abuſed her, then the love wherewith he had deſired her before, v.15. of ye fortie-two 13 Chap: of 2d of Sam:

It was not ſo baſe a deſire (I confeſſe) which *David* his father had of the *water of the well of Bethlem*; yet it was as blind an one, through the vehemency of it (as the expreſſion, 2 *Sam.*23.15. ſheweth) which ſuffered him not to apprehend (untill it was brought unto him) that it was *the price of blood*, becauſe it could not be had without breaking through the Hoſt of their enemies (the *Philiſtins*) ver.16. nor that done without the jeopardy of their lives, that fetched it, and therefore accounting it too deare a draught for himſelfe, hee *powred it out unto the Lord*, 2 Sam.23.16,17.

The deſire of *Rachell* was more warrantable (for the object) then either of theſe; yet the degree of it, raiſed above all due moderation (when being a wife, but not a mother, which ſhe longed as much to be, as any breeding woman longeth for that which her appetite moſt affecteth) put her upon this paſſionate requeſt unto her husband, *Give me children or elſe I die*, Gen. 30.1. her deſire was ſo vehemently ſet upon Mother-hood, that either ſhe thought ſhe ſhould die, if her life were not ſaved by that painfull and perilous adventure of child-bearing: or that ſhe

she should have no delight in life, and so be (as the Apostle speaketh of a wanton Widow) though from a contrary cause, *as dead while she lived*, 1 Tim. 5. 6. if she continued childlesse; and that made her so foolish, as to conceive, that the power of Conception was in her husbands disposall: and that folly was no lesse then Idolatry, with a spice of blasphemy, for so much *Iacobs* reply (as passionate as her demand) importeth: *Am I in Gods stead, who hath with-held from thee the fruit of the wombe?* Genes. 30. 2.

There is the like opposition in quality (but greater in degree) to the light of reason, and rule of grace in the opposite affections *anger* and *hate*.

First for *anger*, *Salomon* saith, *It resteth in the bosome of fooles*, Eccles. 7. 9. It may sometimes steale into or rush into the bosome of a wise-man; but a wise-man will not suffer it there to rest: an unwelcome guest it may be unto him for a while, but it shall not habitually reside there, as one of the household; and only where it dwels it domineers, and that is only where a foole is master of the Family; and when the habit is stirred up into act, and that raised from the bosome to the head, it distempereth the braine, and so *he that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly*, Prov. 14. 29. and that folly (many times) is exalted to madnesse, for (as "*Seneca* saith of it) it is the foulest, fiercest and maddest affection of all others, and the angry person shewes it by his words, his lookes, his actions; his words are wild, and (many times) thrust forward; so many at once, in such hast, as puts him presently to silence; as a crowd hasting to get out of an house at once, stop up the passage, so that they sticke at the doore; his lookes are sometimes furiously red, sometimes ghastly pale, *His lippes trembling, his teeth grinning, his haire staring*, as * *Seneca* maketh the description of him, mad-man-like: for ||Wise-men (saith he

" *Senec. de ira. l. 2. c. 1.*

* *Labra quatiuntur, dentes comprimuntur, horrent & subrigunter capilli.* Senec *de ira. l. 1. c. 1.*

|| *Quidam e sapientibus viris, iram dixerunt brevem insaniam.* Ibid.

he) have ſaid of *Anger*, that it is a *ſhort madneſſe*, and (for the time it continueth in act) the * *fouleſt and maddeſt of all the affections*: So it was in *Achitophell*, who enraged *that his counſell was rejected, ſadled his Aſſe, gat him home, ſet his houſe in order, and hanged himſelfe*, 2 Sam. 17. 23. He ſhould firſt have ſet himſelfe in order, altering his counſels and reforming his affections, and then he might have hanged his houſe with *Coverings of Tapeſtry, Prov. 7. 26. and with the broidered worke of Egypt*, Ezek. 27. 7. and if he had bridled his anger when he ſadled his Aſſe, he would not of an oraculous Counſellour (2 *Sam.* 16. 23.) have turned ſuch a notorious foole or mad-man, as to put his houſe in order, and himſelf into ſuch a deſperate and irrecoverable confuſion.

* *Affectum maxime ex omnibus terrum & rabidum.* Senec. de ira l. 1. c. 1.

It was as fooliſh an act of King *Cyrus* (though not ſo ſad or tragicall, as this was, but rather ridiculous) who having raiſed his wrath againſt the River † *Gindes* for drowning of a white Horſe of his, exalted his folly ſo high, as to turne his intended Warre againſt *Babylon* upon that River (the greateſt next unto *Euphrates*) whereof hee threatned to take revenge by deviding it into ſo many ſtreames, as to make it paſſable on foot, and ſo he ſet his whole Army to worke, and parted the maine water into 360. Channels: wherin he buried the treaſure and ſtrength of his Army, and ſo loſt a faire opportunity of invading his enemy.

† *Idem ibid. l. 3. cap. 21.*

Now as anger is called a ſhort madneſſe, ſo may *hatred* or *malice* be called a long madneſſe; the ſinfull abſurdity of which, we may obſerve in wicked King *Ahab*, who when he might have knowne the truth of *Micaiah* (the man of God) had no mind to heare him, becauſe, *He hated him for prophecying no good concerning him, but evill*, 1 King. 22. 8. for the wicked are like unto the beaſt (ſome ſay it is the Cammell, ſome the Elephant) that cannot

cannot abide to drinke of a cleare water, least it should shew him his unseemly shape, and therefore before he drinke of it, he first stirres it and troubles it with his feet: So the wicked of him that will clearly shew them the evill that is in them, or imminent over them, will take none intelligence, unlesse they can trouble his cleare streame, with flattering accommodations to humour and please; as the false Prophets did, and *Micaiah* was solicited to doe in that Chapter at the 13. *verse.*

And may we not observe the like blindnesse in the minds of many, even of the learned Papists, out of the hatred of Protestants? Which they shew by their *imposing* false opinions upon them, and *opposing* the truth of God, delivered by them, and that out of meere malice against them, as did the Pharisees against both the doctrine and person of our Saviour?

The first you may see (as in many Popish Writers) so especially in the booke of that fiery Friar *Fevardentius* called * *Theomachia Calvinistica*, wherein his fancy (being infatuated by his malice) makes him to faine 1400. errours, and to impute them all to the Professours of the Protestant Religion, under the name of *Calvinists.*

And as they impose falshood, so (upon the same mistaking motive) they oppose truth, as *Erasmus* observed in an Epistle to the Cardinall of *Mentz. Those things* (saith he) *were condemned (in* † Luthers *workes) as savouring of Heresie, which were read in and received from more ancient Writers, as very sound and Orthodox Divinitie.* This misguiding Malignity made *Genebrard* (who tooke up his pen many times with as much passion and wrath, as any Souldier takes up his Sword) to impute to *Calvin* as an errour, that hee taught God to be *ἀνθρωπος*, that is, God of himselfe; whereas ¶ *Bellarmine* (a man

* *Theomachia Calvinistica.* Printed at *Paris* in tolio 1604.

† *Compertum est ab his damnata ut hæretica in libris* Lutheri, *quæ in* Bernardi Augustiniq; *libris, ut orthodoxa, immò ut pia leguntur.* Erasm. *Epist.* Alberto *Cardinali moguntino, l.* 12. *ep.* 10. *col.* 585. *edit Lond.* 1642.

¶ *Bellarmin. l.* 2. *de Christo cap.* 19.

of more moderation then he) underſtood the truth of that Tenet, and ſo defended an enemy againſt a friend, *Calvin* againſt *Genebrard*.

† *Maldonat. Comment in Joh. 6.*

And though † *Maldonat* were a Jeſuite as *Bellarmine* was, yet his hatred of *Calvin* made him as adverſe to the truth (for his ſake) as *Genebrard* was: for he deſerted an Expoſition of Scripture, and tooke up another, though leſſe warranted (by the teſtimony of the Ancients) becauſe it was more croſſe to the Tenet of *Calvin*; and even to this day, we may obſerve many whoſe malignity (like that of *Ahab's* towards *Micaiah*) ſhuts their eyes againſt the light of Information; and therefore they will not reade what an Adverſary writes againſt their conceits; for having taken in their opinions by a partiall affection, they keepe out the contrary by prejudiciall diſaffection, though it be never ſo true, and in rejecting truth (by what hand ſo ever it be offered unto them) they are both unwiſe and wicked.

The like operation (to the prejudice of reaſon) may be obſerved in *hope* and *feare*, *ſorrow* and *joy*; for the firſt, how are men befooled by their hopes in entertaining for truth many improbable and (ſometimes) impoſſible reports: becauſe they wiſh things were ſo, they hope they are ſo, as they are reported; || for men eaſily beleeve and confidently hope for that they heartily deſire, though there be little ground for it, as the fooliſh Merchant, who having a Ship abroad, tooke every Veſſell that coaſted toward the Port to be that of his lading. The exceſſe of ſuch hope (in ſpirituall matters) hath been an occaſion of Ship-wrecke to many a ſoule; for it hath made them ſo to preſume of mercy, as to put themſelves more audaciouſly upon the deſert of Juſtice, and in ſtead of working out their *ſalvation* (*with feare and trembling*) Phil. 2. 12. to worke out their damnation with a confident jolli-

|| *Quod valde volumus facile credimus.*

ty;

ty; This hope (contrary to that well-grounded hope, *Roman.* 5.5.) maketh men ashamed, (as being a meanes to make them fooles) and a signe they are so: and it will end (if thus they hold on) in shame and everlasting contempt, *Dan.* 12.2.

And how foolishly doth extremity of *Feare* make the *wicked fly (when no man pursueth him)* Prov. 28. 1. And what a grosse and mad mistake doth a wicked fugitive make, when (through feare) he takes the sound of a shaken leafe for a drawne Sword, *Levit.* 26. 36. and flieth from it to save his life; he that shall judge of his head by the faintnesse of his heart (in such a case) cannot but thinke him a very foole or a mad-man, to conceive such danger (where there is none at all) as well as a Coward, running away to some refuge of safety.

And what folly, and how frequent a folly is it in many, out of feare of the creature to rush upon the displeasure and indignatiõ of the Almighty Creator (*who is a consuming fire*, He. 12. and the last) when they dare not (for fear of offence and danger from man, (whose *life is but a vapour*, Jam. 4. 14.) be really and zealously religious, least the prophane should set upon them with reproachfull contumelies, whereby they expose themselves (which none but very fooles would doe) upon the greatest perill that can be imagined, the fearefullest doome of the holy Ghost, *Revel.* 21. concerning *the fearefull* (such as are afraid to be good and to own God for their *Lord*) *Who with the unbeleeving* and other offenders, *shall have their parts in the lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone*, v. 8. of that Chapter.

It is said of *Sorrow* that it is an * ingenious thing, yet the excesse of it, makes a man foolish, as it did *Ahab*, who (when he was denied the vineyard of *Naboth* the *Israelite*) betooke him to his bed, would looke upon no man,

* *Res est ingeniosa dolor.*

for he turned away his face, and ſhut his mouth againſt his meat, *he would eat no bread*, becauſe he could not drinke the wine of that vineyard (as his owne) 1 *King.* 21. 1. There was folly and ſinne in his concupiſcence of another mans goods, having better of his owne, *verſ.* 2. Folly and ſinne in his ſorrow, becauſe it was without cauſe, without meaſure, and it brought forth madneſſe and miſchiefe for a remedy or cure of his diſcontent, as you may reade in the ſame Chapter from the ſeventh verſe forward.

And in the Story of *Nabal* it is ſhewed, that (when *Abigal* had told him in what danger he had been by *Davids* indignation upon his denyall of his humble, moderate and neceſſary requeſt) *His heart died within him and he became as a ſtone*, 1 Sam. 25. v. 37. which was not (it is like) through feare, for the danger was paſt, but through ſorrow, that he had ſo unwiſely and ungratefully returned *David* evill for good, to the great perill of himſelfe and family; and when his heart was like a ſtone, how ſtupid was his head?

But howſoever it be doubted what paſſion was ſo predominant in *Naball* as to put his underſtanding, and it may be his ſenſes alſo, out of office: certaine it is that exceſſive ſorrow makes many fooliſhly neglectfull of themſelves, and irreligiouſly defective in their duty to God: for ſome when they have buried a friend, forbeare the Church, becauſe they cannot endure the ſight of an Hearſe, or any memorandum of his mortality, whom it is like while he lived they had entertained as an Idoll, and by ſuch ſorrow (their ſinne and puniſhment both) is their carnall Idolatry ſcourged, and their ſinne puniſhed with ſinne.

I may not here omit a pertinent obſervation out of the Booke of *Wiſedome* (which though to us it be Apocriphall, with Papiſts it is Canonicall, and againſt them it is a good proofe,

proofe, as now I ſhall produce it,) It is this, *a Father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he had made an Image of his Child, ſoone taken away, now honoured him as a god which was then a dead man, and delivered to thoſe that were under him ceremonies and ſacrifices,* Wiſd.14.15. and a few verſes after, *ſo the multitude allured with the grace of the worke, tooke him now for a god, who (a little before) was honoured as a man,* ver.20. *and this was an occaſion to deceive the world, ver.*21. by drawing on Idolatry.

Immoderate ſorrow for the dead, required comfort to the living, that comfort was miniſtred, by a reſemblance of the dead, that reſemblance was made an Idol, that Idol was worſhipped with ceremonies and ſacrifices, and with that worſhip was the world deceived; here is a chaine of many ſinnes and follies, and the firſt linke of that chaine was exceſſive ſorrow.

Which ſometimes makes a wiſe-man to thinke and ſpeake, and doe like a foole, *David* was the man who was much commended for his wiſedome, 1 *Sam.*18.5,14,15, 30. 2 *Sam.*14.17. and he ſhewed himſelfe wiſe, in acting the part of a mad-man, 1 *Sam.*21.13. but when *Abſolom* was dead, his ſorrow for him was ſo exuberant, that it drowned his diſcretion, and made him ſuch an immoderate and unadviſed mourner, as if *Ioab* had not recovered him out of that fit of fond lamentation, he had brought upon himſelfe a *greater evill, then any befell him from his youth untill then,* as you may reade, 2 *Sam.*18.33. and *chap.*19. from the firſt *verſ,* to the end of the ſeventh; and it was the generall folly of the *Iſraelites,* (under the *Egyptian* bondage) that for ſorrow and griefe of heart, they would not hearken unto *Moſes, Exod.*6.9. who came unto them from God for their deliverance.

Ioy (if kept within due compaſſe) cheereth up the ſpirits, quickneth the braine, and ſharpneth the wit, but (if

it goe beyond it) doth hurt it much, but not help it at all, for *as folly is joy to him that is deſtitute of underſtanding*, *Prov.*15.21. ſo is joy a folly in him, both a meanes to effect it, and a marke to diſcerne it; and in ſome degrees it proceedeth to madneſſe, elſe the Wiſe-man would not have acknowledged, that he *ſaid of laughter it is mad*, Eccl. 2.2. and how madly doe many delights miſlead a man, when they bring him to be *a lover of pleaſures more then of God*, 2 *Tim.*3.4. though *in his preſence be the fulneſſe of joy, and at his right hand pleaſures for evermore*, Pſ.16.11.

And even of thoſe joys which have a good reliſh in Religion, ſome of them (in their predominancy) are impediments to a right apprehenſion of things; for when our Saviour (after his Reſurrection) appeared to his Diſciples, and offered them the aſſurance of many of their ſenſes, for they ſaw him, heard him, and he ſaid unto them, *behold my hands and my feete, that it is I my ſelfe, handle me and ſee, for a ſpirit hath not fleſh and bones as ye ſee me have*, Luk.24, ver.39,40. *yet they beleeved not for joy, but wondred*, ver.41.

And in the twelfth of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, we reade that when *Peter* (upon his miraculous deliverance out of priſon) came to the houſe of *Mary* (the mother of *John* whoſe ſurname was *Marke*,) *ver.* 12. and knocked at the doore, a Damſell coming to it, and having heard his voice, went haſtily back, and told them within who it was that was without, they ſaid *ſhe was mad*, ver.15. but ſure ſhe was (at the leaſt) ſomewhat fooliſh, and her exceſſive joy was the cauſe of her folly, *for ſhe opened not the doore for joy*, ver.14. whereas if her mind had been prudently compoſed, ſhe ſhould rather have made them within to ſtay a little for the joy they expected not, then have kept *Peter* without from the entrance he knocked and looked for.

And ſurely we find in the experience of our own times, that

that those who addict themselves so much to delights, as to have their carnall sports and pastimes, (on the Sabbath day) are the most ignorant hearers of Sermons, to whom (before many others) that of the Apostle may be applyed: *when for the time they ought to have been teachers, they have need againe to be taught which be the first principles of the Oracles of God*, Heb. 5. 12.

And for men of more eminent parts, we may observe in some of them, how their misplaced joyes and delights have corrupted their judgements, as *Augustine* was so taken up with contentment in the Oratory * of *Ambrose* and of *Faustus* the Manichean-heretick, that he contemned the Scripture, as neither eloquent, nor learned enough for the elevation of his witt, yet ¶ afterwards, when he was both a better and a wiser man, he saw his own shallownesse, and admired the " profundity of Gods holy Oracles, and held the style of them very venerable, and betooke him to the reading and studying of the word of God, with a very vehement and ardent devotion.

* Aug. *Confess.* lib. 5. cap. 13.

¶ *Idem Confess.* lib. 7. cap. 21.

" *Idem* lib. 12. cap. 14.

And a || late Divine of our own Church, well knowne to my selfe by familiar acquaintance, and very well accepted of in the world for his worthy Works; was before his calling (though otherwise both witty and learned) so vaine a * voluptuary, (much delighted with Stage-playes, Cards and Dice, and thereby so unable to judge of true, sound and solid Divinity) that he tooke M. *Perkins* but for a ¶ *barren empty fellow, and a passing meane Scholler*, whose excellent Learning, the best Divines (both at home and abroad) have highly approved of, and he himselfe, when he had taken double degrees (both of Grace and knowledge) afterward acknowledged his errour, and professed * *hee thought him as learned and godly a Divine as our Church for many yeares hath enjoyed of so ¶ young a Man.*

|| Mr *R. Bolton.*

* Mr. *E. B.* in his relation of of his life, p. 12.

¶ *Ibid* p. 13.

* *Ibid.* p. 14.

¶ He was but little above 40 yeares old when he died.

I will adde to these observations of the excesse of passi-

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ons and affections, and their impeachment of the apprehenſion of man, the *ſaying* of *Baſil* in his tract of reading prophane Authours, which is *that a man cannot come to the knowledge of himſelfe* (and he is an ignorant or proud foole that knowes not himſelfe) *if his mind be not purged from exceſſe of paſſions*; and the ſentence of the Areopagite Judges, who judged inordinate paſſions, to be ſuch enemies of true judgement, that they would ſuffer no pleaders before them, to make any *Exordiums* of inſinuation into their affections, leaſt that ſhould erroniouſly miſlead them to an unrighteous decree.

Thus you ſee when paſſions are rampant, true Judgement is couchant, when they are raiſed to their Zenith above, judgement is put downe to the nadir below. If to this diſtemper of minde there be joyned the *intemperance of the palate*, and exceſſe of diet, there will be place for the vulgar proverbe, *Loaden bellies make but leaden witts*, for thereby the braine is floated with too much moiſture, and over-clouded with abundance of muddy vapours and exhalations aſcending from the ſtomack to the head, and the blood ingroſſed and thickned, whereby the ſpirits that are engendred of it, are not ſo ſpirituall and active as thoſe that proceed from purer blood, the proper effect of temperate dyet.

Both theſe exceſſes, *viz.* of the paſſions of the mind and pampering of the body are the ſinnes of wicked men, and ſo make up a part of the conviction of their fooliſhneſſe: for as the Wiſe-man ſaith, *their owne wickedneſſe hath blinded them*, Wiſdom. 2. 21.

Thus much of the impediments to true intelligence and right underſtanding: whereof I have ſaid the more, becauſe I conceive, the manifold aggrievances, under which many mourne, and many bleed, and many are dead, and all that remaine alive, doe ſuffer, and are running on towards

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an univerſall ruine, may be referred (as to one chiefe cauſe) to the uſurping power of paſſion over reaſon; for when the wiſeſt counſell of the Kingdome (ſo much the wiſer as it is leſſe ſubject to paſſions, and in the * Lord *Digbys* judgement it ſeemes to be a priviledge of Parliament, to be freed from them) is called, and come together with mature deliberation, and judicious advice, to give redreſſe for what is amiſſe; what is it but paſſion, which will renounce ſuch a judicatorie? and expect a juſter award from the Sword, then from the ſentence of ſuch an Aſſembly?

* This wiſe body politick can have no paſſions. Lord *Digby* in his Speech in Parliament, *April.* 21. 1641. in the Booke of Speeches, p. 220.

And may we not obſerve, in this obſtinate reluctancy to the prudence of the Parliament, a muſter of paſſions? ſure there is too much *love* towards ſome, too much ſelfe-love in many, els they would not have the publike peace given up in ſacrifice to their particular intereſts, there is too much *deſire* in divers, for ſomewhat (which their covetouſneſſe or ambition aimeth at) though they cannot obteine or reteine it in a peaceable ſtate; there is (I doubt not) a height of *wrath* and *hate* in many, which will not be aſſwaged (without wrong;) there is a guilt and *feare* in offenders, which cannot endure a diligent inquiry into their crimes, much leſſe the due puuiſhment which (for them) they doe deſerve.

And there are that have *hope* the ſhaking of the Kingdome by War-like commotions, will make ſomewhat looſe, which may fall to their lot, to mend their eſtate, though their manners be much worſe then ever they were: and how *jocund* are ſuch as never had much of their ovvn, or have prodigally ſpent it, when they come to rifle the rich, and to commit ſo great robberies at once, as divided into many parcels of pilfery, would ſerve to furniſh all the Goales with thieves, and to garniſh all the Gallowſes in the Kingdome, with pendents of exemplary Juſtice.

Theſe paſſionate exceſſes (like wild Horſes) having broke

the reynes of regular government, run riot with all manner of rudenes and outrage, and ſo by refractory oppoſitions to reaſon and religion, ſo violent, ſo generall, the greateſt part of *Great Brittaine* is at this day become a great Bedlam of mad-men, by acting ſuch bloody Tragedies upon each other, as the Popiſh party (throughout the Antichriſtian world) will entertaine as ſportfull Comedies; ſo *Calvin* conceived of the contentions of Proteſtants in his time, though they did not proceed to blood-ſhed or blowes, * *good God* (ſaith he) *what delight and ſport doe we make the Papiſts?* (viz. by our diſſentions) *we could not gratifie them more if they had hired us to doe them ſome acceptable ſervice.*

* *Deus bone quales & quã jucundos ludos prebemus papiſtis, quaſi illis locaverimus operam noſtrã.* Calvin. *Epiſt.* Melanct. p. 52.

To caſt up the particulars into a Totall (under the Title to which they belong, leaſt any forgetting my grounds, ſhould ſuppoſe I have digreſſed) the ſumme of what hath been ſaid, and particularly proved is this: *Whatſoever is an hinderance to Intelligence, or true underſtanding (eſpecially in good things) is a cauſe of errour and folly.*

But ſuch is the exceſſe of paſſions and affections as of Love, &c.

Therefore the exceſſe of paſſions and affections is a cauſe of errour and folly, and to make the argument perſonall as well as reall, we may thence deduce thus much,

Whoſoever is ſwayed by the exceſſe or predominance of paſſions and affections, is moſt ſubject to errour and folly.

But ſo is a wicked perſon;

Therefore is he moſt erronious and fooliſh.

I ſhould in order now proceed with, and proſecute the other cauſes of the conjunction of wickedneſſe and folly, but ſince they are many (and I have held you long already) I will reſerve the reſt for ſuch an opportunity of time and place, as ſhall be allotted unto me by the all-wiſe providence and diſpoſall of Almighty God, to whom be glory, honour and praiſe for evermore.

FINIS.

Die Mercurii 26. [illegible]

I [illegible] Order'd by the [illegible]
[illegible] Parliament [illegible]
[illegible] VV[illegible]worth [illegible]
preach'd this day, at the [illegible]
Parish-Church of [illegible]
before the Commons at [illegible]
Peter's, in the City of VVestminster,
(being a day of publique Thanksgiving)
and that he desire them to Print his Ser-
mon. And it is Ordered that no man
presume to print his Sermon, but such
the said Master Greenhill shall au-
thorize under his hand writing.

H. Elsyng. Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Lappoint [illegible] Allestropius my Sermon.

W. GREENHILL.

Die Mercurij 26. *April.* 1643.

IT *is this day Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that Sir* Peter VVentworth *doe from this House give thanks unto M^r.* Greenhill *for the great paines hee tooke in the Sermon hee preached this day, at the intreaty of this House, before the Commons at S^t.* Margarets, *in the Citie of* VVestminster, *(being a day of publique humiliation) and that he desire him to Print his Sermon. And it is Ordered that no man presume to print his Sermon, but whom the said Master* Greenhill *shall authorize under his hand writing.*

H. Elsyng. Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint *Benjamin Allen* to print my Sermon.

W. GREENHILL.

Ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν. 2

The Axe at the Root,

A SERMON

Preached before the Honourable House of COMMONS, at their publike Fast, *April* 26. 1643.

By *William Greenhill.*

MATTH. 3. 10.

Now also the Axe is laid unto the root of the trees, therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen down, and cast into the fire.

LONDON,
Printed by *R.O.* & *G.D.* for *Benjamin Allen,* and are to be sold in Popes-head Alley, 1643.

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Sold in Pope-head Alley. 1641.

TO THE
Honourable Houſe of COMMONS
Aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

WHen the World was ſhaken by Adams *ſinne, God ſecur'd it by the Promiſe of his Son,* Gen. 5. *When* Canaan *was diſtreſſed by the Midianites, he ſent* Gideon *to ſave* Iſrael, Iudg. 6. *Now* England *is diſtracted, and her foundations out of courſe, He hath rays'd up you, the* Worthies *of our* Iſrael, *to repaire her breaches, and ſettle her foundations; We acknowledge the infinite mercy of God to raiſe you up at ſuch a time, and for ſuch deſignes. It's great hard work to ſave Kingdomes: but Honourable, whoever would not ſave a Kingdome, is no more worthy to live in it, then the Man ſeekes the deſtruction thereof. Wicked men will venture all to get or ruine Kingdomes, and ſhall not good men venture as farre to ſave Kingdomes? Had men pub-*

lique ſpirits they would doe it. Heathens have ſo minded the publique, as that they have forgot themſelves. Publius Decius the Romane Army being brought low, ruſht into the midſt of the enemies, demanded ſafety for his Country, Death for himſelfe; and ſo occaſioned an unexpected Victory. Luc. Alvanius his Wife and Children, being in the Wagon, eſcaping for their lives in a common Calamity; commands them downe, and takes up the Veſtall Virgins, who had the care of their holy things: he was proprior publicæ Religioni quam privatæ charitati, the Publiqueneſſe of his ſpirit caryed him above private intereſts. Where ſpirits are right ſet; ſelfe is much forgotten. It's domeſticknes of ſpirit, ſelvishneſſe, which is the great let to Armies, Religions, and Kingdomes good. Eſther was right when ſhee ſaid, if I periſh I periſh, ſhe would venture for the publique, and for her God. The *Rabbins give a good leſſon for Men in publique employment, They muſt doe their worke propter Deum. Then neither difficultie of worke, diſappointment in event, nor ingratitude in People, will diſturbe the ſpirits of men. Then nothing will be done against the Kingdome of Chriſt, evidence of truth, or liberty of Conſcience; If men be publique and act

Valex: maxim. l. 5. c. 553.

1 Dein, lib. 1. c. 11.

* Quicunque occupati ſunt negotijs reipublicæ debent hoc ipſum facere propter Deum Rabbi Gamel. in Paul. Fagio Capit. patrum.

for

for God they are Eshbaals, Ruling lights; if pri-
vate and selvish, they will be Ishboshethsmen of
shame. The Axe is at the root of our Tree, wee
hope your spirits are all unselvished, that none are
now unpublique; Publiqueneſſe of dangers calls
for publiqueneſſe of spirits; Eminency of dan-
ger for speedineſſe of helpe. When Ieruſalem
was brought low, Aſaph cryed to God for speedy
prevention, Pſalm. 79. 8. England, Ireland are
brought low, the Aſaphs cry to God, and cry to you
alſo for speedy prevention. There be ill ſpirits a-
broad which teare us, which caſt us into the Fire
and water to deſtroy us, as the Mans Sonne in the Mar. 9. 22.
Goſpell, and we ſay, Maſters if you can doe any
thing have compaſſion on the Kingdome, and help
it, help us; keep backe nothing may ſave a King-
dome, helpe by wayes ordinary, and by wayes ex-
traordinary. You are * Rulers and our ruine
is under your hand; Vote our Reſurrection nomine
contradicente, effect it quamvis mille repugnent,
and this ſhall be your Impreſſe, Hoc Regnum eſt
vere veſtrum. Yea other Kingdomes ſhall contri-
bute to your praiſe, and the Kingdome of King-
doms be your reward. Beſtirre you they are active,
who would undoe us. Thinke on the * Rabbies
words a little altered Dies brevis, opus multum
merces

* Eſ. 36. ſiqua eſt miſe-recordia & humanitas extremæ noſtræ miſeriæ ſuccurrere ne graveris Calvin.

Rabbi Shimeon in Paulo Egio Caput. patrum.

merces magna, Pater familias urget operarij ne sint pigri. *This Epistle and Sermon had both layen in the dark, if your authority which commands Persons, Pulpits, Presses, had not brought them forth; accept the fruits of your owne power, and blessed be the Lord for what you have done since you heard what is now presented unto you. The Lord inable you to* perfect all *your* intentions *and* undertakings, *which are for the publique good.*

The Lord unite you, Watch over you, fill you with his Spirit, Prosper you, All *yours, and accompliſh yet greater things by You, So Prayes*

Your moſt Vnworthy Servant, and meaneſt in the Worke of Chriſt.

WILLIAM GREENHILL.

A SERMON

PREACHED

Before the Honourable Houſe of COMMONS. at their publique FAST. *April* 26. 1643.

MATTH. 3. 10.

Now alſo the Axe is laid unto the root of the trees, therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen down, and caſt into the fire.

THeſe words are part of a penitentiall Sermon, *Iohn Baptiſt*, the greateſt Prophet borne of a woman, yet the humbleſt that had to do with Chriſt, *Mat.* 3. 11. Preaching repentance to the people *v.* 2. multitudes flocked to heare him upon that ſubject, amongſt others the *Phariſees* and *Sadduces*, which were none of the beſt, came to heare; and theſe he exhorts alſo to bring forth fruit meet for repentance: many arguments he uſed to preſſe on that duty, and this Text is *Argumentum ergon*, a ſtrong argument unto it: Beſide the Arguments, of the Kingdome of God being at hand, *v.* 2. and that

there is wrath to come, v. 7. he saith, *Now also is the Axe laid to the root of the Tree*, if the Kingdome will not draw you, nor the fear of wrath after this life drive you yet let the present Axe that is laid to the root of the tree both draw and drive you to repentance.

In the words you have a description of divine severitie. And first in the preparation to it, *The axe is laid to the root of the tree.* Secondly, in the execution of it, *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen down, and cast into the fire.*

First, I shall open to you the words, and then draw forth such truths, and Observations, as the words do naturally prompt unto you, without any straining, or fetching of blood.

By Axe we understand not Christ, as *Gregory*, nor the Gospell, as some would have it; but any Judgement that God useth to cut down a sinful people by. The *Roman* forces, under *Vespatian* and *Titus*, were Gods Axe, to cut down the Nation of the *Iewes*, by the warre they made upon them by the famine attended that warre, and the dispersion followed it, they were utterly cut downe I will a little shew you the resemblances between them and an Axe: Because Gods judgements are called Axes.

Resemb. 1. First, an Axe is a sharpe and terrible thing, so are Gods Judgements, *Psal.* 45. 5 Thine arrowes are sharpe in the heart of the Kings enemies. Gods Arrowes are not onely his truths, but also his judgements, and they are sharpe at distance, but especially upon the entrance, when they come into the hearts of Christs enemies they wound, and that dreadfully, *Ier.* 51. 20. *Babylon* is called Gods battell Axe, and that you know is a terrible Instrument; God by *Babylon* did break, and terrifie Kingdomes, he dealt sharply, and roundly with them and his Judgements executed by *Babylon* were very dreadfull, *Psal.* 119. 120. *My flesh trembleth for feare of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgements.* *David* that was not afraid of the Beare, of the Lyon, nor of *Goliah*, yet was afraid of

Gods Judgements If the giving of the Law made *Moſes* and the people quake, *Heb.* 12. 20, 21. ſurely Gods Judgements which are *lex animata*, the execution of the Law, will make Kingdomes to tremble. At the entrance of the law Mount *Sina* did ſmoak, and when God ſhall avenge the breach of the Law, Mount *Sion* will burne, *Lament.* 4. 11.

When *Ananias* and *Saphira* were ſmitten, great feare fell upon all the Church, and all others that heard of it, inſomuch that none of them durſt joine themſelves with them. *Act.* 5. 11. 13. So you ſee Gods Judgements are ſharpe and dreadfull.

Secondly, an Axe as its terrible ſo its ſtrong and weighty, and Gods Judgments have ſtrength and weight in them, *Pſal.* 90. 11. Who knowes the power of thine anger? there is power and ſtrength in the wrath of God, let him uſe the leaſt creature to execute his judgements, and there is ſtrength enough in that creature to ruine any; the raine is a weake thing, but if God will uſe raine as a Judgment, it is ſtrong enough to drown a world *Job.* 37. 6. It is called the great raine of his ſtrength. God can put that ſtrength into a cloud, into a few drops of raine, that they ſhall conquer any oppoſite power, the worms eate up *Herod*, *Act.* 12. A humor in the feet tumbles down *Aſa*, 2 *Chron.* 16. a diſeaſe in the bowells conſumes *Ioharam*, 2 *Chron.* 21. And Stories tell us ſmall things have overthrowne men of great renowne, a grape ſtone, a flye, ſome petty thing: God can arme the weakeſt creature with that ſtrength, that no man is able to ſtand againſt it, not the Princes of the earth, *Pſal.* 76. 12. Hee cuts off the ſpirit of Princes. Hee deales with Princes as men deale with a Vine. an Axe is too ſtrong for a cluſter of Grapes, or a ſprig of a Vine, it eaſily cuts them off: ſo God by a Judgement eaſily cuts off the ſpirit of Princes, they are not able to ſtand againſt the leaſt Judgement of God, when he puts ſtrength into raine, wormes, or any other creature, they fall.

Pope Adrian the fourth choaked with a fly at Anagnia Simpſ. Hiſtorie of the church. Cent. 12 Iovianus the Emperour ſtifled with ſmoak or eating of a muſhrum Grimſton, lives of Emperours.

3. Thirdly, an Axe is an inſtrument to hew with, wood and ſtones they hewed with Axes, *Eſa.* 10. 15. *Shall the axe boaſt it ſelfe againſt him that heweth therewith?* God by His Judgements hewes Nations and Kingdomes. He hewed *Iſrael* by forraigne Nations, when *Iſrael* was under the Judges, the Philiſtimes, and others were Gods Axe to hew them. After they had choſen them a King the Lord alſo hewed them, 2 *King.* 10. 32. He *cut Iſrael ſhort* in all their coaſts; the Hebrew word is to *curtaile*; to cut off the ends: *Hazael* was ſent, and ſmote them in all their coaſts; he took their coaſt Townes, cut off the ſupplies and ſuccors, came from thence and much moleſted them, *Pſal.* 75. 10. *The hornes of the wicked will I cut off*; the Lord will deale with them as men doe with Trees firſt loppe off one bow, then another, then a third, and leave only the trunke: ſo for wicked men God will loppe off their pride, their ſtrength, their glory, and leave them deſtitute.

4. Fourthly, againe the Axe is deſtructive. Trees are cut down by Axes and great woods. The Lord by His Judgements cuts down Kingdomes and Princes, *Pſal.* 110. 5. *In the day of thy wrath thou ſhalt ſmite through Kings*; God ſhall not only ſmite, but he ſhall ſmite through Kings: an Axe cuts, and cuts through; and Gods judgements cut through the greateſt and throws them down, *Ezek.* 14. 21. Gods Judgements are ſore ones, the Sword, Famine, Plague, noyſome Beaſt, they are His ſore Judgements to hew down People and Kingdomes; hence it is that God is called a *conſuming fire*, not that He is ſo in his owne nature, for he is nothing but *love* and *delight*: but when He ſends out his ſore Judgements, then GOD is *fire*, and will be everlaſting burning to the wicked.

The next thing to open in the words is, what is meant by the *Tree*, and the *Root* of it. By *Tree*, we are to underſtand the Jewiſh ſtate principally, they were called Gods *pleaſant plant*, *Iſa.* 5. 7. God had digged, dung'd, watered,

watered, and ſhined upon, and done much for them; they were a great and goodly Tree: but now the Lord layes the Axe to the Root of this Tree; and if God cut downe this Tree, his pleaſant Tree, then no State, no Family, might ever after look to find Mercy, that was in the condition of this Tree, *Every tree that bringeth not forth fruit is hewen down, and caſt into the fire.*

For the *Root* of the *Tree*, ſome make Man the Tree, the life of Man the Root of it; the *Axe* to be the ſentence of Death, and Death it ſelfe the cutting down of the Tree. Others make the Root of the Tree to be whatever they built moſt upon, and confided in: they built upon their Temple, Greatneſſe, Strength, Chariots, Horſes and ſuch things. But I ſhall commend to you theſe 4. things, wherin the Root of the Tree did mainly conſiſt.

The Firſt was that Covenant which they had with God they were the Lords People, and he was their God; and this was one Root which afforded much ſap to this Tree; God being theirs in Covenant He protected them, provided for them, and did wonderfull things among them. Now the laying the Axe to the Root, was the breaking His Covenant with them. *Zach.* 11.10. & 14 v. there is the ſtaffe of beauty, and bands; ſaith God, *I tooke my ſtaffe, Beauty, and cut it aſunder, that I might breake my Covenant with all the people*; and when God had broken that, it was not long before He brake that other ſtaffe of Bands, *viz.* the brotherhood between *Iſrael* and *Iudah*, the ten Tribes were diſperſed before: but they had ſome communion with *Iudah* at *Ieruſalem*: but God would break the ſtaffe of Bands, he would diſperſe them at *Ieruſalem*, and ſo there ſhould be no communion between *Iudah* and *Iſrael* for the future. The Covenant being diſſolv'd they were wounded at the Root, and were no longer Gods people. 1.

Secondly, by Root is meant the true Religion, and worſhip that the Jewes had, theſe are the root of a King- 2.

dome. A Kingdome then lives and proſpers when Religion and the Pure worſhip of God are maintained; this the [a] Heathens themſelves did know, that Religion and worſhip of their Gods was the onely way to make a Kingdome flouriſh. *Tullie* in his Booke (*de natura deorum*) attributes the felicitie, Empire and Tryumph of the Romans (*Religioni.*) They ſaw all things to be rul'd by the Gods, and as we, ſaith he, excelled all Nations *pietate & Religione*, ſo we excelled them all in plenty; and when the [b] Romans went out to Warre, they firſt took care to call the Gods out of that City and Town which they went againſt, and promiſed them better entertainment at *Rome*, then at any other place, intimating to us, that while they kept their Gods they could not be overcome: and they conceited *Rome* invincible, while they had their Palladium: but to leave them, and to look to Gods word. [c] *Hoſea* 13. 1. *when Ephraim ſpake, trembling, he exalted himſelfe in Iſrael.* When *Ieroboam* ſet up Calves, at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and will'd the people to worſhip there, pretending it was too farre to goe to *Ieruſalem*, theſe were ſhorter journeyes, and the worſhip as warrantable, they ſpake trembling. What ſhall we leave our God, ſhall we give way to Idolatry and worſhip we know not what? When they ſpake trembling they exalted themſelves; but when he offended in *Baal* then he died; when *Ieroboam* prevailed by his pollicie and power and brought them to it, then they dyed; as the worſhip of God preſerved or corrupted, ſo Kingdomes flouriſh or wither, 1 *Chron.* 22. 13. 1 *Kings* 12. 11. 2 *Chron* 17. 3.

Thirdly, the root of a Kingdome conſiſts in Civill Power, when that is upheld in a Kingdome, it flouriſheth, but when that is wounded or deſtroy'd, the Kingdome is blaſted and withers at the root. *Gen.* 49. 10. the Promiſe was that the Scepter ſhould not depart from

[a] *Ethnicus Marcius apud Livium l. 44. dixit favere pietati fideiq; Deos, per quæ populus Romanus ad tantum faſtigium pervenit.*

[a] *Omnia proſpera eventunt colentibus Deum, adverſa ſpernentibus.* Lucius. l. 5.

Numa Pompilius ſecundus Romanorũ rex, ferum populum religionis inſtitutione & utilibus legibus domuit, ſuumque regnum ita formavit, ut pendente ejus regno nemo illi bellum moverit. Plin *de viris illuſt.* c. 2.

Religio & timor Dei ſolus eſt, qui cuſtodit hominum inter ſe ſocietatem. Lactant. lib. de Ira c. 12.

[b] *Macrob. in Saturn.* l. 3. c. 9. [c] Sanchius *in Locum.*

Judah

Iudah till *Shiloh* come; till Christs comming the Civil Power should not be remov'd. There is a Question[l] among great ones, how this can be made good? But I will not dispute that, only take it thus: unto the day of *Augustus Cæsar* the power remained, in the State of the Jewes; he then with the Senate took the power from them, placed it in *Herod Ascalonita*, and set him up, and then the Scepter departed from *Iudah*. [d] The Sanedrim were most, if not all of the Tribe of *Iudah*, and had the supreme Authority, they called *Herod* to Question for his contumacie, and had almost taken away his life, which *Herod* taking to heart, rooted out the Sanedrim, reigned absolutely over the Jewes, and did what he lifted against them, and onely fear'd to displease the Romans; here was the Axe at the root, their Civill Power was taken away.

[d] Willet, Mercerus A Lapide.

Fourthly, the Root was the Godly partie among the Jewes; They, whether Magistrates, Ministers, or People, are the strength of a Kingdome. *Elisheh* and *Eliah* were the Chariots and Horsmen of *Israel*, they were the *Militia* of that Kingdome, *Psal.* 75. 3. saith *David*, *I beare up the Pillars of the earth*: he maintain'd Religion, their Lawes, and the faithfull, these were the Pillars of the Earth, and his eye was upon the faithfull, *Psal.* 101. 6. they should dwell with him, he knew they were strong props of the Kingdome. That place is observable, *Esa.* 6. 13. *As an Oake whose substance is in it, when it casts the leaves, so the holy Seed shall be the substance thereof.* When the wind, raine and thunder blow off the leavs, break off the branches, yet the life and substance remaines; so here the holy seed shalbe the substance of it. Let *Nebuchadnezzar* come, blow and break off the leaves and branches of this Vine, throw them into the furnace of Babylon, and make *Israel* as a dead sapleſſe thing, yet the holy seed shalbe the substance therof; and when they returne againe, it shall spread in the Kingdome, and be a great Tree, and the topp reach to heaven, and over all

4.

the

the borders of the Land, the holy ſeed being the ſubſtance and root would grow and multiply; when godly Miniſters, Magiſtrates and People be ſtruck in a Kingdome, then the Axe is laid to the Root of the Tree. Now they were perſecuted and thruſt from their place; *Herod* put by the [a] Aſamonæans, and ſuffered none of them to enjoy the Prieſthood. *Annas* was ſet up, and [b] *Caiphas* who according to his name, vomited out malice againſt Chriſt; and before their full cutting down, the voice was heard, *Ite pellam*, goe to *Pella*, the godly were removed, and then they were deſtroyed.

[a] *Nulli Aſamonæorum poſteritati ſacerdotium committere voluit* Herodes. Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. l. 20. c. 8.

[b] קאחפה

Queſtion. Was not the Axe laid to the root of the Tree before this time? was it not at the Root, when the ten Tribes were cut off? Why then is it ſaid, *Now is the Axe laid to the root of the Tree?*

The Anſwer is, it's true the Lord did lay the Axe to the root of it before this time, and that heavily, in the diſperſing of the ten Tribes; therfore its ſaid *Now alſo*: but he did not ſo lay the Axe unto the root of the tree, as that it was wholly deſtroyed; often times they were hewed with the Judgements of God, yet alwayes there was *ſemen*, a ſeed left: and when they came out of *Babylon* there was a glorious Church, and God delighted in them: but now the Axe was ſo layd to the Root, that they [b] were utterly cut down, and made no People. Now the Lord did unconvenant them, unchurch them, unpower them unſaint them; now the Lord caſt them off; they had no Root left, no god for their God, but were made a reproach and curſe among all Nations.

[b] *Poſt peccatum in Chriſtum commiſſum radicitus eſt percuſſus ſtatus ille per univerſalem captivitatem.* Gorran in Mat.

Secondly, *Now the Axe is laid*, becauſe the Lord hath another People to graft in; before he took no care of the Gentiles, but left them to periſh in their way; now he would take this wild Olive, and graft it into the Root: therfore ſaith Chriſt *John* 9. 39. *I am come for Judgement*, to cut off the Jewes by the Root, and to graft in the Gentiles, that I may try them, and ſee whether they will beare better fruit then the Jewes have done. *Acts* 13. 46.

opening of the words. Now I come to give you thoſe Obſervations which doe naturally flow from the word.

And firſt obſerve, that *God beares long with a ſinfull people: Now is the axe layd to the root of the tree*, I have borne a long time, been patient, but now I come with the axe, and doe lay it to the root of the tree. God is a patient God toward his people, and toward the world, a God that beares with ſin and ſinners beyond our expectation: three yeares God bore with the Fig-tree, *Luk* 13.7. *I came theſe three yeares and have found no fruit:* Fourty yeares God bare with them in the Wilderneſſe, *Heb* 3.9. a hundred yeares God bare with a ſinner, *Eſa.* 65.20. an hundred and twenty yeares with the old world, *Gen.* 6.3. and after *Noah* was ſhut into the Arke, God bare ſeven dayes, to ſee if they would repent and turne, as ſome collect from *Gen.* 7.4. God goes further then this, he bare three hundred and ninety years with the idolatrous paſſages of *Iſrael*, *Ezek.* 4.5. three hundred and ninety dayes taken for yeares, that God had borne with them. Foure hundred yeares did God beare with the *Amorites*, *Gen.* 15 16. God hath borne with Antichriſt above this 1200 yeares: God bare with the Gentiles before Chriſt came, more then 2000. yeares, *Acts* 17 30. God is ὁ θεὸς ὑπομονῆς, *a God of patience*, *Rom.* 15.5. *long-ſuffering*, *Exod.* 34.6. he doth beare, and forbeare with ſinners, and Kingdomes, and a world full of wickedneſſe and vanity, *Eſa.* 42 14. ſaith God there, *I held my peace*, yea I held my peace *a long time, and was ſilent and refrained*: God held his peace, ſaid nothing to Kingdomes, nothing to Families, nothing to particular perſons; he held his hand alſo, did not ſtrike a long time: God is patient, and with-holds ſo long, as (*patientia Dei turbat pios*) the Saints are troubled at Gods patience. it makes them to cry, *How long, how long, how long* ſhall the wicked triumph, utter and ſpeak hard things! it's thrice repeated, *Pſal.* 94. 3.4. the Saints are troubled that God doth not come

Obſer. 1.

and destroy the wicked: and not onely the Saints on earth, but the Saints in heaven, *Rev.*6.10. they cry, *How long, how long wilt not thou avenge our blond!* We have been slaine by *Cains*, by *Pharaohs*, by *Nimrods*, by *Herod*, *How long, how long Lord wilt thou not averge our blond.* Not onely the Saints, but the sinnes of wicked men, they cry for vengeance; the sinnes of *Sodom* cryed for vengeance against *Sodom*: Not onely sin, but the whole Creation, heaven and earth groanes, *Rom.*8. The Land mournes for oaths, and other iniquities, *Jer.*23.10. Satan, the accuser of the brethren cryes; Gods Justice cryes all his Attributes cry, to destroy sinners, to destroy the whole world; yet God seemes deafe, and will not heare; yet he is patient, and holds his hands: What should the patience of God produce? The Apostle tells us *Rom.*2.4. *Knowest thou not that the long-suffering and goodnesse of God should lead* (the word is *drive*) *thee to repentance?* the patience of God should constraine us to repentance. What, shall God hold the Candle of our lives in his hand, and we sin against him? there is much in Gods patience to constraine us to repent, its patience beares with all our sinnes; if Gods patience were at an end, sin would be heavie; it's patience that lengthens out our lives, *Lam.*3.22. it's divine patience that keepes us out of hell; it's that keepes open the doore of common and choice mercies; the doore of grace and salvation had been shut long since, if Gods patience had ceased, 2 *Pet.* 3.9,15. God is willing we should all come to repentance, let us reach to it this day, and make his long-suffering salvation to us. Oft we have grieved his Spirit by sinning and abuse of his patience, once let us rejoice it by repentance, the improvement of patience.

Use.

*Obser.*2. Againe, observe that *great severity goes along with the greatest mercy.* The Gospel is the greatest mercy that ever came into the world, and there is the greatest severity with the Gospel, that ever came with any mercy into the world; *now is the axe laid*, when the Gospel is comming.

comming. *Funceius* obſerves that *John* began his Miniſtery in the fifteenth yeare of *Tiberius*; *Auguſtus* died the twentieth of *Auguſt*, *Tiberius* ſucceeded him, whoſe reigne is reckoned from that of *Auguſt*, and not from *January*; on the firſt of *September*, which was the feaſt of Trumpets, and on which day was the promulgation of the yeare of Jubile, then was the voice of the Cryer firſt heard: At this time, which was very feſtivall, *John* preach'd and ſaid, *Now the axe is laid to the root of the tree*, at the yeare of Jubile, and comming of the Goſpel it's done. Here was the acceptable yeare, and the day of vengeance together; the acceptable yeare of Chriſts comming and the day of vengeance, *the axe is layd to the root of the tree*. To give more light and ſtrength to this point, be pleaſed to take into your thoughts theſe paſſages in the Goſpel, *Mark* 16.16. *Goe* (ſaith Chriſt) *preach the Goſpel, he that beleeves ſhall be ſaved, he that beleeves not ſhall be damned*: upon non-believing preſently is damnation entailed. *Iohn* 3.18. *he that beleeveth not is condemned already*. *Matth.*10.14. *Shake off the duſt of your feet againſt that City and Towne that doth not receive you: Shake off the duſt of your feet againſt them, that ſhall bee a teſtimony againſt them: It ſhall be more eaſie for Sodom and Gomorrah in that day, then for that Town, that City, that People, that Chriſtian, that refuſeth the meanes of grace, and the Goſpel of Chriſt*. Is not here the greateſt ſeverity with the greateſt mercy in the world? And the reaſon is, becauſe the Goſpel is the heigth of Gods mercy; the Angels they had *ſimplicem miſericordiam*, bare and naked mercy; but men have *divitias miſericordiæ*, the riches of mercy: in the Goſpel, as there is *plenitudo gratiæ*, ſo *plenitudo iræ*, plenty of mercy and plenty of wrath too: If there were a ſword on *Moſes* thigh, there is an axe in Chriſts hand; if there be fire in the Law, there is fire and brimſtone in the Goſpel. In the Law God kept Aſſizes once a yeare; in the Goſpel he keeps Seſſions every moneth: If he died without mercy that deſpiſed *Moſes* Law, he

*Eſa.*61.2.

he muſt die with all ſeverity that deſpiſes Chriſt: *Luk.* 19.27. *Bring thoſe mine enemies, that will not that I ſhould reigne over them, and ſlay them before me*: *Rev.*8.13. dreadfuller woes are pronounced under the Goſpel then under the Law, *Woe, Woe, Woe, to the inhabitants of the earth*: ſo *Mat.*18.7. *Woe to the world*: there was never a generall *Woe* pronounced upon the world before this time; but now, *Woe unto the world*: and the plagues ſince the comming of Chriſt have been greater upon the world then before as the Trumpets and Vials in the Revelation do manifeſt. Till Chriſt was come, and the bleſſings of the Goſpel were tendred to the Jewes, they never had a perfect bill; but after hee was come, and the grace of the Goſpel refuſed, then the bill of Divorce was perfected, 1 *Theſ.*2.16. they caſt out of Gods family, and his wrath came upon them to the utmoſt, εἰς τὸ τέλος, *to the utmoſt*, even to perfection: God would beare no more, but cut them off preſently, and with as much ſeverity as ever we read of any.

Vſe. We ſhould learne hence, *to take heed how we ſlight and refuſe the Goſpel of Chriſt*: in it there is the choice love of God, the precious bloud of the Sonne of God; in it is the Spirit of grace and glory, the exceeding great and precious promiſes, all ſpirituall excellencies and eternall life: if you refuſe theſe, you provoke God to *lay the axe unto the root of the tree*; you provoke Chriſt to ſay, *Bring him and them hither, and ſlay them before me, that would not have me to reigne over them.* The *Gadarenes* preferred their Swine, the *Capernaites* their Loaves, the Jewes *Barabbas*, before Chriſt; but it coſt them all deare when the axe came. Let not a *Gadareniſh*, a *Capernaiticall*, a *Jewiſh* ſpirit be found amongſt us; let us ſay, *Pereant porci, pereant panes, pereat Barabbas, & regnet Chriſtus*, let all goe, ſo Chriſt may reigne. The Jewes ſtucke ſo to *Moſes* and *Moſaicall* things, ſo to the Temple and the Rites of it, ſo to ſuperſtitions and the traditions of their Fathers, that they would not receive Chriſt and the truths of the

the time present, and therefore God dealt so severely with them, as to cut them downe by the Romish axe. There be truths of Christ reserved for some times and when those truths are discovered, wee should examine them, and labour to bee established in present truths, 2 *Pet.*1.12. as the Apostle speakes Are there not truths now on foot, concerning Christs Kingly Office, and his government in the Church? hath hee not powred out his Spirit upon men eminently, and brought light out of darkenesse? Shall wee reject truth and light, it's feared we stick too much to Mosaicalls, Prelaticalls, and Traditionalls: Let us prove all things, and hold fast that is good; let us receive the truth *with the love of it, lest we be given up to strong delusions*, 2 *Thes.*2 10.11. and *strange judgements*, *Acts* 2.13.17.28. when the Spirit was given, choice truths presented and they not received, there is mention of turning the Sunne into darkenesse, and the Moone into bloud; which notes some dreadfull judgements, that should darken and imbitter their best comforts: The like may we feare, if we refuse any truths of Christ.

Thirdly, observe that God doth premonish before he doth punish. *Now the Axe is laid to the root of the Tree*, *John* tells them, there was an Axe laid, the newes of the Axes comming was heard before the noise of its cutting. The Lord tells Delinquents before he strikes them, *Yet forty dayes, and* Nineveh *shall be destroyed.* Men are close, their designes are underneath, they oft storme, surprize, and plunder Towns without giving the least notice but when God intends judgements, he sends his Heralds to warne Kingdomes and Nations. Hath not God given warning to all Nations? hath he not within these hundred yeares, given us 100. warnings? have not the Heavens seemed on fire? have not there bin foure or five blazing Stars? *Herlicius Stargardensis* held that the influence of the Comet 1618. upon the christian world would last to between 20 & 30. yeares, which is already verified at *Martyr.*

3.

Cometæ vel pestem provinciarum vel Regni mutationem portendere pro vero asseverabo Gul. *Malmsbur. de Gestis reg. Angl. l.* 2 *c.* 9. *de Edwardo*

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Cometæ vel peſtem provinci alicui vel regni mutationem portendere pro vero aſſeverabo Gul. Malmsbur. de Geſtis reg. Angl. l. 2 c. de Edwardo

at laſt is blaz'd over *England* and expired, intimating that *England* ſhould take warning by it. Beſides theſe, have we not had Earth-quakes? great troſts, deep ſnowes, unſeaſonable weather, and is it not freſh in your memorie how God had a quarel with your Steeples and Churches for the corruptions and Innovations in them, when divers of them were ſmitten, broken and burnt by thunder and lightning: not onely by prodigies, hath God warned us, but by his Prophets alſo *Ezek.* 33. 3. they have bin telling you of a ſtroak that would come, *Eliſhahs* ſword hath bin drawne, and brandiſhed before us, and becauſe we would not take warning by that, *Iehues* and *Hazaels* ſwords are in the midſt of us; Its undeniable the cocks have crowed and told us of this ſtorme of bloud above this thirty yeares, all exceptions are taken away, none can quarrell with God, he hath warned us, he is juſt and will overcome in Judgement, he hewed *Ieruſalem* by his Prophets, before he cut it downe by his *Axes*, *Ier.* 1. 10 The Prophet did root up by his Prophecy & after that *Nebuchad.* cuts down by the ſword. Further God hath warned us by his judgements on others. *Germany* theſe 20. years hath bin a Beacon to us, *Scotland* was lately a Land of darkeneſſe, and *Ireland* is ſtill a Land of wrath, and muſt *England* be ſecure. Awake, awake, O *England*, there be Armies within thy bowells, Parliament Citie, Kingdome, are all in danger. God hath long threatned and is now upon execution. Uſe of the point, *Amos* 4. 12. *Thus will I doe unto thee, and becauſe I will doe this, prepare to meet thy God*: Its dreadfull to heare God is in a way of Judgement, eſpecially when we are not in a way of repentance: *If I whet my glittering Sword, and my hand takes hold of Iudgment, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will make mine Arrowes drunke with bloud, and my Sword ſhall devoure fleſh, &c. Deut.* 32. 41, 42. When God whets his Sword, and ſhoots his arrowes, he will make them eate fleſh, and drinke blood, yea be filled with blood, and grow fat with fatnes, *Eſa.* 34. 6. Now God

God hath given a Commiſsion to the Sword to eate Engliſh fleſh, and drinke Engliſh blood; and I feare the Sword having bin ſtarved a long time, will now eate to purpoſe, it comes hungry, and is like to eate much fleſh, it comes dry, and is like to drinke much blood before it be put up again: Let us therefore meet God in this way with ſighs and teares, let us take warning in time, *præmoniti præmunitis*, men that are forewarned ſhould be forearmed. In theſe times men are arm'd to goe to battle with men, but are you arm'd to meet God? have you on the girdle of veritie? the Breaſtplate of righteouſneſſe? are you ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpell of peace? is the helmet of ſalvation on your heads? is the ſhield of Faith on your hearts, and the ſword of the ſpirit in your mouthes? If you be thus arm'd you may meet God marching in flames of fire, and that without prejudice. The Lord of Hoſts is come, if we bee not prepared wee cannot ſtand in the evill day, read *Ezek.* 22. 14 but the ſoul that takes warning ſhall deliver it ſelfe, *Ezek.* 33. 5. Let us all then lay it to heart, that the ſword is drawn, hath dranke the blood of our friends, and may drinke ours, *The Axe is laid to the root of the tree*, and threatens the downfall of Church and State, if we do take warning and meet God the right way, we may deliver our owne ſouls, the ſouls of thoſe that belong unto us, and probably the whole Land.

Fourthly, God begins with leſſer judgements, and afterward with greater: *Now the Axe is laid to the root of the Tree.* First there was *Culter putatorius*, the pruning hooke, and when that would do no good, then comes the Axe, Gods Judgements are graduall not ſuperlative at the firſt upon Kingdomes and families *Sodom* was firſt plundered by the foure Kings, after that reſcued by *Abraham*, and ſet in *Statu quo*, *Gen.* 14, 15, 16. This Judgement doing little good they were ſmitten with blindnes *Gen.* 19. and when that did no good then came fire, and Brimſtone, and conſumed them from before the face of the 4.

the Lord. The *Romans* had their *Faſces*, and their *Securis*, firſt their *Faſces* came, and then their *Securis*: God hath his *Fiſces*, his *Rods* before his *Securis*, his *Axe*, if leſſer judgements will prevail, the *Axe* ſhall never come, *Hoſ.* 5. 12. 14. there is mention of a moath, rottenneſſe, and a Lyon, firſt the Moath a leſſer fretting judgement, then comes rotteneſſe, a ſoarer judgement, the word for rotteneſſe ſignifies a Worme alſo that eates into Trees, and cauſeth rotteneſſe. God would ſend ſuch judgments as ſhould eat into the heart of the Jewiſh State, and after that he would be as a Lion, tear in pieces and devoure them.

Rachab is putredo & tenedo.

This ſhewes that God is not willing to caſt off, and deſtroy a people that have bin his, *Hoſ.* 11. 6, 7, 8. How ſhall I give thee up *Ephraim*? how ſhall I deliver thee *Iſrael*? how ſhall I make thee as *Admah*? how ſhall I ſet thee as *Zeboim*? &c. The Sword was to abide upon their Cities. their goodly branches were to be lopped off, they followed their owne Councells, went backward from God, they were call'd to by Prophets and Judgements, to exalt God, but would not, yet ſaith God, how ſhall I give thee up, &c. There was a contention between mercie and juſtice, the one pleaded as much for them as the other againſt them. Judgment is *opus alienum*, Gods ſtrange worke, mercy comes out ſweetly, but judgement conſtrainedly (as a ſting from a Bee:) the Woman conſtrained the unjuſt Judge to doe her Juſtice, ſo wicked men conſtraine God to deſtroy them. If the *Sodomites* would have amended upon the firſt or ſecond Judgement, God would have ſtayed the Plague; but *ipſi extorſerunt ut perirent*, they conſtrained God to deſtroy them. Shall God be unwilling to deſtroy us, and ſhall we deſtroy our ſelves? Let not ſuch a perverſe ſpirit be in us. God is loath to caſt men into hell, and yet they deſire God to damne them, and ſweare themſelves many miles into hell. O horrible wickedneſſe! many a man is ready to make away himſelfe, when God ſteps in, and

Salvian.

prevents

prevents the miſchiefe. *God* is willinger to keepe many out of Hell then they are themſelves.

Fiftly, *God* hath Soveraigne Authority over all Kingdomes, *Now is the Axe laid unto the Root of the Tree*, this axe was the Roman State, this Tree was the Jewiſh State. *God* hath the Authority of all in his hand, hee ſets one Kingdome againſt another. Babylon muſt ruine Sion: *Titus* and *Veſpatian*, are ſtir'd up by *God* to cut down and deſtroy the Jewiſh Nation: *God* hath Soveraignty over all Kingdomes, *Pſal.* 103. 19. and can imply them to execute his judgements. *Senacherib* was his axe, *Eſa* 10. 15. to cut downe Nations. *God* makes one Kingdome an Axe to hew downe another, hee makes one part of a State to hew downe another part of the ſame. The Jewiſh Common-wealth was now under the Roman Empire; it's ſo in *England* at this day, hath not *God* mingled a perverſe Spirit amongſt us, *Eſa.* 9.21. *Ephraim againſt Manaſſeth, Manaſſeth againſt Ephraim, and both againſt Judah*; They ſought each others deſtruction as we do at this day; a perverſe Spirit was mingled among them, and among us. Kingdomes depend upon God, *Dan.* 4.32. 2 *Chap.* 21. and where there is the greateſt dependancy, there is the greateſt Soveraignty. Now Kingdomes depend upon God, *quoad omnia*, for their beings, upholdings and bleſsings, and therefore he hath, *jus utendi*, he may do with his own what he liſt, hee can and may daſh one Family, one Towne, one Country, and one *Kingdom* againſt another, and that without controule. Who ſhall ſay to him, what doeſt thou?

5.

What ſhould this beget in us, but to feare this *God* that hath Soveraign authori y over all fleſh, over all *Kingdoms*; let us feare this God, *Ier.* 10.7. *Who would not feare thee O King of Nations! for to thee doth it appertain:* Shall *God* be the King of Nations, the King of all Kings and not be feared? to the doth it appertaine, not to men to be feared but to thee doth it appertain: The great *God* muſt be feared. Ye that are petty Kings on the Earth, you that are Gods on the Earth, you muſt know that this God hath Soveraigne

Vſe.

raigne Authority over Nations, Persons, lives, conscien-ces; hee is the everlasting King or King of eternity, *Ier.* 10. 10. Hee can, will, and must, dispose of you ere long eternally in heaven or hell, *Iob* 36. 8, 9, 10. When Families and Kingdomes are in fetters under the afflict-ing hand of God, then Hee shewes them the excessive-nesse of their sins, and commands them to returne from iniquity. Did not God command them before? yes, but then they slighted God, being at ease and in prospe-rity, His commands were not regarded, but when God cast into streights, fetters and afflicts Families or King-domes, their eares are opened, they harken to Discipline? What they formerly contemned, is now pretious, and they see Authority and Majesty in the command of God. *Mic.* 6. 9. The King of Nations is wroth with this Kingdome, Hee hath it in fetters, let us hearken to His commands, and tremble at his Soveraignty. *Psal.* 99. 1. *The Lord Raigneth let the Earth tremble; let all the Potentates and Inhabitants of it tremble and quake before him:* It's for our advantage to do it. *Hab.* 3. 16. when the *Chaldeans* were to come up and besiege Jerusalem, the Pro-phet apprehending it before-hand, quivered and quaked, and why was it? that hee might rest in the day of trou-ble: that soule which trembleth when judgement is in the Cloud, when the Axe is at the root of the tree, shall have rest in the day of trouble: *Isa.* 66 2. *To him will I looke that is of a contrite Spirit, and trembleth at my word:* God will looke to him, that the flood shall not drowne him, nor the Axe cut him downe. *Lot* is sav'd when the fire consum'd *Soddom*; God was to him a Sanctuary, he feared God and God was his defence, *Esa.* 8 13, 14. When we have frames of Spirit suitable to the Authori-ty and Majesty of the great God, that is Lord of King-domes, that raises and ruines them at his pleasure, then we sanctifie God in our hearts, and he will be a Sanctua-ary unto us, and such a Sanctuary is needfull for these times.

Vexatio dat intelle.tum.

Sixtly,

Sixtly obſerve, That after warning, and waiting, God will deale ſeverely with Kingdomes and Perſons. Now the Axe is laid to the Root of the Tree, I have warned you long, and waited long, and I ſee no good fruit, now therefore I intend to cut down the Tree by the Root. *Iſa.* 42. 14, 15. *I have been ſilent a long time, and held my peace, and refrained, and ſaid nothing, but now I will cry like a Woman in Travell, I will deſtroy, and devoure at once ſaith* GOD, *I will ſtay no longer, I will lay waſt Mountaines, and hills, I will dry up Rivers and Poole*s: Great and ſmall ſhould now feele the ſtroake of *Gods* hand; where Gods long ſuffering ends, there his fury begins, and hee will deale ſeverely with Kingdomes, and with particular Perſons. 6.

This ſeverity appeares in three particulars: Firſt, in that it is an Axe, is uſed. Secondly, it is the Root it's laid too. Thirdly, in the impartialneſſe, the root of every Tree. Firſt, it is an Axe not *Culter putatorius*, a pruning knife, that will cut down ſome little Branches, and no more; it is not *Falx* a Bill or Hooke, to chop off ſome Armes or Bowes, but *ſecuris*, an Axe, ſome ſharp, ſtrong, hewing, deſtroying Judgement. Secondly, It's layd to the Root, not to the branches bowes, not to the great Armes; not to the toppe, not to the Trunck, but to the Root of the Tree is the Axe laid. God will deale roundly with them. Now the Lord would un-covenant them, un-church them, unpower them, and un-ſaint them. Here it's inquirable. 1. 2.

What makes God to lay the Axe to the Root of a Tree or Kingdome? *Queſt.*

There are 4 things make the Gardener, and ſo God, to lay the Axe to the Root of a Tree. Firſt, Deadneſſe. Secondly, Rottenneſſe. Thirdly, Barrenneſſe, Fourthly, Evill fruitfulneſſe. *Anſw.*

Firſt, Deadneſſe: When the Tree is dying or dead, the Gardener layes his Axe to the Root of it, and God when a State is dying or dead, layes his Judgements to the root of it. 13 *Hoſea* 1. When *Ephraim* ſinned in *Baal* 1.

then he died. *Ephraims* death being pronounc'd, Gods Axe was presently prepared, v. 3. *Therefore they shall be as the morning Cloud*, &c. *God* would scatter them as Clouds, Chaffe, Smoake, and dry them up as dewe. *Sardis* one of the 7 Churches in *Asia*, had a name to live but was dead, *Rev.* 3. 1. What saith the Lord to *Sardis*? *Remember what thou hast received and heard hold fast, repent, watch, else I will come on thee as a thiefe in the night*, v. 3. that is, suddenly and cut thee downe: and you know that *God* did lay waste that and the other Churches not long after; when Churches or Kingdomes are dying or dead, the Axe is not far from the Root of them.

Hi sunt ultimi singultus moribundæ libertatis.

Hath not our Kingdom bin languishing and dying many yeares together; you know what was said at a Commencement some yeares since, our Church and State liberties lay a dying: some reviving through the meanes, blessed be the Lord we have had, but our fainting and feares are not over, *England* is in a consuming dying condition, and the Axe is at our root. 2. Secondly, Rottennesse or corruption, that makes the Axe to be laid to the Root of the Tree; the Gardner cannot endure to see a Tree rotten at the heart, though the bowes be greene, and it beare some small fruit, yet if rotten he will down with it, 6. *Gen.* 12 *All flesh hath corrupted their way, and the end of all is come before me. I have looked upon all flesh, and finde that great and small have corrupted their way, and therefore the end of all is come before me, I am resolved to send a Flood to drowne the World and its corruptions together.* It was not some particular corruption among them, but an universall one. There was corruption in faith and life, in their Religion, Worship, and manners, and when a State is generally corrupt in those, the Heavens grow black, and either a flood or fire comes, a flood to the old world, a fire to *Sodom*. Trees naturall or politicall being rotten, call for the Axe, and God hastens it to the Root. 3. Thirdly, Barrennesse makes the Axe to be laid to the Root of a Kingdome. 13 *Luk.* 7. *I came, and found*

no

no fruit, cut it down why cumbreth it the ground: a barren Tree cumbers the ground. Some obſerve, that if the Fig-tree beare not fruit in three yeares, it will never beare fruit, and therefore it's ſaid, this 3. yeeres I come ſeeking fruit and finde none, cut it downe. A Barren Tree muſt be cut down. *God* waited long on them when under the Judges, under the Kings, when under the High Prieſts after their captivity, in *Moſes* dayes, in the Prophets, in Chriſts, and ſtill they were barren, therefore downe they muſt. Fourthly, Fruitfulneſſe, but its an ill fruitfulneſſe, *Hoſ.*10.1. *Iſrael is an empty vine, he brings forth fruit to himſelfe*; Emptie and yet fruitfull, it ſeemes to be a contradiction. but God accounts that no fruit, is fruit to our ſelves. Barrenneſſe and baſeneſſe is all one with God, when our fruit is not for God and the publique, it's ſelviſh, and tends to ruine. Such fruit *Iſraels* Tree was full of, and if a barren tree cumber the ground, what doth a tree loaden with curſed fruit. *Alapide.* 4.

Its demanded, *What fruit was it, which brought the Axe to the Root of the tree?* *Queſt.*

1. It was prophanation of the Sabbath, *Ierem.* 17. 24, 25. 27. If they made conſcience of Gods Sabbath, hee would take care of their City: If they would hollow that day with pious duties, he would honour them with choice Princes; but if they would deſile his day, hee would fire their Citie, and that with unquenchable fire. This made *Nehemiah* ſo zealous for the Sabbath, after the returne from Babylon, *Neh.* 13. 17, 10. hee contended with the Nobles, and ſaid, *What evill thing is this that ye doe, and prophane the Sabbath day? did not your Fathers thus, and did not our God bring all his evills upon us, and upon this City? yet yee bring more wrath upon Iſraell, by prophaning the Sabbath day.* He knew that ſin had formerly laid them waſt, and would therefore ſtand for the Sabbath, that the Lord of Sabbaths might ſtand for and by them. *England* is not innocent in this thing. The Booke of Sports (a Monſter that Heathen and Idolatrous King- *Anſw.*

domes never produced) that opened a wide doore to prophane the Lords day, hath kindled a fire in our Land, which is not like to be extinct till that Booke be burnt by publique Authority.

2. Idolatry, that is a Kingdome destroying sinne. *Jeroboams* two Calves eat up the 10. Tribes, and *Manasses* Idols devoured Juda, *Hos.* 13 1. When *Ephraim* sinned in *Baall* then he died. Idolatry is the death of a Land, it divides betweene God and Kingdomes, it breakes the Covenant, and causes God to give a Bill of Divorce, and that is not all, it calls forth Gods furie upon a Land, *Ezek.* 36. 18. 19. and that is a destructive thing.

3 Neglect of justice, when sinne abounds, execution of justice saves Kingdomes, and want of it hastens their ruine. *Ierem.* 5. 1. *runne yee too and froe saith God, through the streets of Ierusalem, and see now and know, and seeke in the broad places thereof, if you can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgement, that seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it.* Doubtlesse there was some godly man in Jerusalem, but there was none of a publique Spirit, that did execute Judgement in the broad places, neither King, Councellors, Priests or Prophets did execute Judgement, and therefore hee could not pardon; when none appeare to cut down sin, God will appeare to cut down sinners. *Isa.* 5. 7. *I looked for judgement: Iudah* was his pleasant plant, he had hedg'd, dig'd, dung'd, watered, shined upon them, and looked for Judgement, but there was none, therefore God would breake downe the hedge, and lay them waste. If God could have found 10 righteous persons in *Sodom*, he would have spared it. You may take the word righteous not onely for godly men, but for men executing Judgement, there were none such: *Lot* could have no Justice from them, and that inforc'd God to execute Justice on them.

4. Blood, oppression, uncleanesse, hatred of truth and such like, which I put together because I cannot inlarge upon all particulars, *Hos.* 1. 4. 2. 3. By swearing, lying,

lying. killing. ſtealing. and committing adultery, they breake out, and blood toucheth blood; Therefore ſhall the Land mourne, God will deſtroy becauſe of theſe ſinnes, *Ezek.* 36. 18. When the *Britains* called in the *Saxons* to helpe them againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, God who hath power over Kingdomes and people made them his Axe, to hew and deſtroy the *Britains*, for they ſoone joyned with their adverſaries and picked quarrels againſt the *Britains*, and God ſo ſtirred up their Spirit againſt the *Britains*, that they ſpoyled them in many places, drove them into corners of the Land, made them flee into forraine parts. and deſtroyed the Country with fire and Sword. The [a] ſinnes then obſervable, were ſuch as were not amor g the Gentiles, hatred of the truth; and the patrons of it drunkenneſſe, contention. crueltie, uncleanneſſe countenancing of lies, and the forgers of them, reſpect to lewdneſſe more then goodneſſe, the better things wrought moſt diſcontent; all vice was in the Clergie and people: Princes were Tyrannicall Murtherers, Adulterers. Soddomiticall: and the laſt of the [b] *Britiſh* Kings flying into *France* ſaid *woe to us for our great iniquities, we had time to repent but did it not, therefore juſtly now the wrath of God rootes us out.* When the [c] *Danes* conquered *England* the Land was guilty of blood and uncleaneſſe, it was in [d] *Etheldreds* time, whoſe wayes were cruell, miſerable and ſhamefull; his eares were open to to accuſers to calumniations, and no mans life was in ſecurity.

When *Roderick* King of *Spaine* deflowred the Daughter of *Count Iulian*, who in revenge ſtir'd up the *Moores*, ſhewed them the way to get *Spaine*, which they conquered and poſſeſt above 600. yeares At the Conqueſt by

a *See* Speed *l.* 7. *c.* 1. *of the downfall of Britaine.*

b Cadwalader *ſaid, Væ nobis peccatoribus ob immania ſcelera noſtra.* Fitzherb.

c *Vide* Speed Foxe *in the lives of* Edgar *and* Etheldred.

d *Ejus vitæ curſus ſævus in principio, miſer in medio, turpis in exitu aſſeritur.* Guliel. Malmſ. *l.* 2. *de geſt. Reg Anglor. c.* 10. And he relates in that Chapter what *Dunſtan* told him: *Quia inquit per mortem fratris tui aſpiraſti, ad regnum, non delebitur peccatum ignominioſæ matris tuæ, & peccatum virorum qui interfuerunt conſilio illius nequam, niſi multo ſanguine miſerorum provincialium, & venient ſuper gentem Anglorum mala qualia non paſſa eſt ex quo Anglia fuit uſque ad tempus illud.*

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the *Normans* the ſinnes were prophaneſſe ignorance, uncleanneſſe, neglect of Juſtice and Religion, the people were a prey to the Nobles, which made *Edw:* the *Confeſſor* ſay before his death, that *England* ſhould be given into the hands of Divills and wicked Spirits. You ſee what ſins made the great changes in this Kingdome, ſins not unlike the *Amorites*, which from *Levit.* 18. *Deut.* 2 & 12. are conceived to be Idolatry, oppreſsion and filthineſſe, which are deſtructive of Religion, Juſtice and holyneſſe of life, the onely bands of humane Societies; and when theſe ſinnes of theirs were full, God cuts them off, for when ſinnes become deſtructive to Societies, they whet Gods Axe and haſten it to the root, and now you have heard what are the ſinnes bring the Axe thither. It followes that I ſhew you the third thing ſets out the ſeveritie of God and that is, Thirdly, the impartialneſſe of God in the worke, *Every Tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewen down and caſt into the fire*; let it be an Olive Tree, or a Bramble, a Fig tree or a Vine no exception excuſe, evaſion, pretence, or priviledge or plea is admitted, but the axe is laid to the root of every one, it referres to that in *Deut.* 20. 20. *The trees thou knoweſt be not for meat thou ſhalt deſtroy*, ſuch trees muſt not be ſpared though great and goodly: In particulars you may ſee this truth more cleerly: Looke at Kings, they are tall Cedars, *Dan.* 4. 14. *Hew downe the Tree*: *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelfe muſt downe, *Herod*, *Pharaoh*, *Belſhazzer* were cut off by the root. Gods axe neither feares nor ſpares the proudeſt, *Pſal.* 76. 12. Not Prophets, *Balaam* is ſlaine by the Sword, *Num.* 31. 8. Not Prieſts, 1 *Kin.* 18. Not Nobles, *Zimri* and *Cozbi* are runne through, *Num.* 25. Not Apoſtles. *Judas* falls headlong, and burſts in pieces, *Act.* 1. 18. Not Statiſts and great Counſellors, *Ahitophel* is ſmitten, 2 *Sam.* 17. Not Tribes, *Judg.* 21. 3. A Tribe was lacking in *Iſrael*, afterwards ten were wanting. Not Cities, *Sodom*, *Ieruſalem*, *Babylon*, are layd waſt. Not a World, 1 *Pet.* 3. 20. That is drown'd; no priviledge will advantage

Peccata exitialia humanæ ſocietati maxime ſolet punire Deus Alopid. in Gen.

tage. *Abrahams* ſeed, Children of the Kingdome, are caſt out, *Mark.* 8. 12. No place ſecures; *Ioab* is taken at the hornes of the Altar, Angels in heaven are thrown down, 2 *Pet.* 2. 4. the Figtree in the Garden is not ſpared, *Luke* 13. 6. That of *Coniah* is moſt obſervable, *Ierem.* 22. 24. *Though Coniah be as the ſignet on my right hand, yet would I pluck him thence: though he be much eſteemed and very deare,* as Signets on Princes hands are, yet it ſhall not priviledge him; you may thinke his nearneſſe and my affection to him may preſerve him in his place, *but be not deceived, as I live ſaith the Lord I will pluck him thence.* Thus you ſee the ſeverity of God in his impartiallneſſe towards every tree. Now I come to make application of the point.

I might here firſt ſhew you that all Kingdomes have their Periods, and learned writers tell us, that there are no Kingdomes ſo great, ſo glorious, ſo powerfull, that extend their duration above 500. or 600. yeares at moſt, but are either ruinated and fall to aſhes, or elſe ſuffer ſome great change. The Jewiſh State from *Egypt* to the Temple, was 480. yeares, from *Saul* their firſt King, to *Zedekiah* the laſt of *Iudah*, were 480. yeares, and then they were led into Captivitie, and after their returne within 500. yeares, they were cut off by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, the Axe in my Text, and are not a Tree to this day. And the ten Tribes after their diviſion 260 yeares were carried away: the *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman* Monarchies, had their Periods, and were cut downe by one Judgement or another; the *Britaines* after 500 years were quit of the *Romans* tyranny in *England*, and *Athens* from the time of its Monarchy, to the time of its Democracy had 400. yeares. The *Lacedemonians* flouriſhed 491. yeares. The *Saxons* had to do here 469. years. The *Danes* 242. And, then there was an end of them; and it is known to all of you how long we have been ſince the conqueſt, but I doe not deſire to propheſie, and foretell things to come, all ſeaſons are in the hand of God, but

Vſe 1.

Heſtiæus.
Sleidan
Speed.

its thought we are upon the Tropicks, if we be not ruined altogether, certainely there will be some great alteration in the Kingdome.

2. Secondly, Doth God lay the Axe to Kingdomes? are they lyable to destruction? then take counsell this day, let every one provide for a Kingdom that cannot be shaken, make sure of that Kingdom which no Axe can cut, make sure of eternity for your soules. It is not long before we must be cut downe all by death, you know that night and day, are Axes constantly hewing at the root of your Trees, besides other casualties which may take away your lives, if you have no other Kingdome but this Kingdome to helpe you, you will droppe into a Kingdome of darkenesse. where will be *wailing and gnashing of teeth for ever.* When *Noah* heard of a flood to drowne the world, he prepared an Arke presently to preserve himselfe and his family: when you heare the Axe is laid to the root of Kingdoms and they be terribly shaken, see you provide an eternall Kingdome, for the safety of your soules, and those are yours. Christ hath a Kingdome to bestow that is not to be hewen or shaken by the power of men or divels: get Christ and that Kingdome is yours. They have interest in Christ, are of the Blood royall, and Co-heires with him. Christ is the roote of *Iesse, Rom.* 15. 12. desire the Father to draw you and to ingraft you into that root that being rooted in him as it is, *Col.* 2. 7. you may be out of all danger, for *Romans* 8. 1. There is no Condemnation to them that are in Christ: οὐκ ἐστὶ κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν κατάκρισις, not one condemnation, neither the Divill nor the World, nor their owne hearts, nor God himself, shall, or can justly condemne you with one condemnation. And if there bee no condemnation, there is no Axe, *Iohn* 8. 51. *He that believes in mee, and keepes my sayings*, saith Christ, *shall never see death*, if then you be not in Christ, if you be Christians in name, and not in truth, Christians in

Heb. 11. 7.

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the forehead and not in the heart if you have the ſprinkling of water in the face, and not that of blood in the conſcience, you are dead men, 1 *Iohn* 5. 12. *He that hath the Sonne hath life, and he that hath not the Sonne, hath no life in him*: If it be ſo, you are dead Trees and muſt be cut downe, and caſt into the fire, and there will be no remedy, looke narrowly therefore to your intereſt in Chriſt and right to the Kingdom of Heaven ſeeing the Kingdoms of the earth are lopping and cutting down by the Axe of God. And to help you a little in this maine point: which way do the branches of your trees tend? is it upwards or downwards? the branches are *deſideria & affectus*: are your deſires and affections to promotion pleaſure, profit, content in the creature and upon things below? then will you fall downward into the lake of fire, when the Axe doth his office, for the tree ever fals that way, the boughes and branches moſt incline: but if your deſires and affections are after and upon the things above, Chriſt and his Kingdom, the riches pleaſures, honours and excellencies thereof you ſhall not be cut down only be tranſplanted, the Lord will take you out of his kitching Garden, and plant you in Paradiſe, by the Rivers of pleaſure at his right hand for evermore.

Thirdly, as this day requireth, let us all humble our ſelves under the hand of God, is the Axe laid at the root of the Tree, and ſhall we be inſenſible of it? It was the Ordinance of this Honourable Houſe, exhorting to repentance, and deepe Humiliation, that ſtrongly inclined me to fall upon this Text: You ſaw the Kingdome in eminent danger, without repentance, and like to periſh, what you have cal'd for, and my Text points at. let us reach after and practice this day. It's a day for mourning and afflicting of our ſpirits, *Levit* 16. 29. 31. and Chapt. 23. 29. if they be not afflicted, wee and the Kingdome may be cut off together. The ſoule moſt affected with the time, and moſt afflicted for the ſinnes of them, will doe the Kingdome moſt ſervice. There is 3.

ſinne and miſerie enough in the Land to breake and humble us. Beſides our deadneſſe, rottenneſſe, barrenneſſe; are we not ſinfully fruitfull? Have we no ſuch ſinnes and ſinners among us as bring deſtruction unto Kingdomes? Hath not the Lords day beene conſtantly prophaned? Hath not Idolatry and Superſtition bin entertaind, countenanc'd and practiſ'd? Hath not Juſtice bin neglected? hath not blood, oppreſſion, drunkenneſſe, ſwearing, Blaſphemy, uncleanneſſe, contention and ſcoffing at holyneſſe overſpread the Land? *England* is become like *Iſrael* a Rebellious Houſe, the *Hebr.* is, a Houſe of bitterneſſe, or an imbittering Houſe; ſinne is ſuch gall, ſuch worme-wood, that it imbitters Gods Spirit againſt a Kingdome, *Heſea* 12. 14. *Ephraim provoked him to anger moſt bitterly*, the word is, with bitterneſſe: they thruſt Religion, Juſtice and God Himſelfe out of place, they ſet up Idols, forſooke God, and oppreſſed the people, which things were very bitter. It was a bitter provocation when they gave Chriſt hanging on the Croſſe gall and vinegar to drinke. A land doth worſe when it ſinnes againſt God in ſuch ſinnes as have bin mentioned; they give him pure gall to drinke, *Lamentation*, 1. 18. The Originall runnes thus; *the LORD is righteous, for I have imbittered his mouth.* The ſinnes of a Kingdome and Families, imbitter the mouth of God; and the Lord pronounces wrath, curſes, and judgement againſt that Kingdome, that imbittereth his heart, his mouth, and hand; he will come, deale ſeverely with that Kingdome, and cut it downe by the roots: *Hoſ.* 13. 16. *Samaria ſhall become deſolate, for ſhee hath rebelled againſt her God, ſhee hath deale bitterly with her God*; and what then? they ſhall fall by the ſword, their Infants ſhall be daſh't in pieces, and their Women with Childe ſhall be rip't up: This was bitter to have their Children daſh't in pieces, their Young-men to fall by the Sword, their Women to bee ſlaughter'd and rip't up like Beaſts, their Country and Land to be laid deſolate; but

Ezek. 2 5. ביהמרי

המרודים

Quonia n ad amarit udinem concit vit deum ſuum vulg.

but it was not ſo bitter as mans dealing is with God, it is a greater evill for us to ſinne, it croſſes the will of the bleſſed God it darkens his glory ſtrikes at his life and being, it murdered his Sonne, vexes his Spirit, defaces his worke, and preſſes him as a Cart is preſſed with ſheaves, and this is worſe then any or all the Judgements of God upon us They are to purge us, to heale us, and to prevent the greateſt puniſhments in Hell, and this is not ſo bitter, but when we deale ſo with God, as to darken his glory, to ſlight his love, to crucifie his Son, to grieve his Spirit, to undervalue the glorious excellencies in the Goſpell, this imbittereth the heart of God, and ſhould imbitter and afflict ours.

There is a bitternes in ſin as well as for ſins: men may be humbled but not be humble; at the ſenſe of Judgments moſt are humbled, there is the bitterneſſe for ſin: but at the ſight of the great wrong to God, men are humble, there is the bitterneſſe in ſin. Let us then conſider ſeriouſly of our ſinnes, and throughly view the enmitie that is in them to God, to Chriſt, and to his Holy Spirit; let us goe downe to the root of all, even originall corruption, and charge the enmitie which is in that ſin to God, and in all thoſe have ſprung thence deeply upon our hearts, that feeling the wrong they have done to God, and the reall bitterneſſe is in them, we may be truely and throughly humble. If the bitterneſſe in ſinne will not do it, let thoughts of Judgement and bitterneſſe for ſinne helpe on and perfect the worke. Conſider, is there not an Axe in the Land and an Axe at worke? is not God hewing and lopping of us? are not hundreds and thouſands cut off? Are not Townes, Counties and the Kingdome wounded? doth not *Ireland* lie bleeding to death? Is it not drawing its laſt breath? Shall a Tribe be loſt in our *Iſrael* and we not be ſenſible of it? Shall the Chriſtian world be ſhaking, and cutting downe as it is at this time? and ſhall we not lay it to heart? Are we Chriſtians? where is the Spirit of Chriſt? He wept over *Ieruſa-*

ruſalem before the Axe came, we weep not over *Ireland* or *England* now the Axe is come. If we will be ſlight and formall in our humiliations, we provoke God to be reall and ſevere in our deſtructions, *Iob* 36. 18. Becauſe there is wrath, beware leſt hee take thee away with his ſtroke, his hand is lifted up and where his ſtroakes fall they are deadly; let us therefore humble our ſelves under his mighty hand that we may not be cut down.

When *the Axe is at the root*, the danger is great, and Repentance neceſſary, if teares flow not the chips muſt flie, the tree muſt downe. (a) *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, the Text is compulſorie, *John* conſtraines them to repentance, can you endure to ſee your wives and children cut down? your habitations laid waſt? your Temple and worſhip deſtroyed? your City to be burnt? moſt of your ſelves to be ſlaine or enſlav'd? the Axe is at the root, if you repent not theſe things you muſt ſee and feele. Repentance now may prevent all. Smite upon your breaſts and ſay woe is me its my ſin hath provoked God to anger, and brought the axe to the root of the tree that hath endangered all, and now through the helpe of God I will doe what lyeth in mee to ſave all. If we were humble, and broken with the bitterneſſe of ſin, and weight of judgements, wee ſhould find mercie, 2 *Chron.* 12. 5, 6, 7. There was a great Army came up againſt *Ieruſalem*. *Shemiah* tells them, they had forſaken God, and therefore he had left them to the ſpoile of their enemies: upon this the King Princes and people humble themſelves and acknowledge the righteouſneſſe of God in his Judgements upon them and what followed, preſently upon their humiliation comes deliverance, God ſaw and ſent, he ſaw them humble and ſent them mercy and in *Iudah* things went well, *v.* 12. If we would have things goe well in the Parliament, well in the Armie, well in the Kingdome, then muſt we humble our ſelves and ſuitably to our ſins 2 *Chron.* 7. 14. If there be through humiliation God will heare, helpe, and heale our Land, if we be truly

(a) Διεγηγερμαι ἀυτὸς καὶ ὠδὶν πρὸς μετάνοιαν. *Chryſoſt: in locum.*

ly humble Gods Axe ſhall not cut us downe, but his hand ſhall lift us up in due time, 1 *Pet.* 5. 6.

Fourthly, as there muſt be humiliation, ſo there muſt be Reformation: let us lay the Axe to the root of our ſinnes this day, if God lay it to the root of Kingdoms, its time for us to lay it to the root of our ſins, *Prov.* 28. 13. it's ſaid, *he that confeſſeth his ſinne, and forſaketh it ſhall have mercy.* It's without queſtion we have often times in publique confeſſed our ſinnes, but if heaven ſhould now demand of us whether we have forſaken them? I feare there would be a generall ſilence. Its a vaine thing to expect mercy and live in ſinne: if we do not forſake them they will ſtop the ſluces of mercy, and haſten in deſtruction upon you, us, all. Humiliation without Reformation is a mocking of God, and provokes much. Hath ſinne brought us low, let the Axe of Reformation bring ſinne low this day, lay it to the root of ſinne and cut that down. *Pſal.* 110. 5. it's ſaid of Chriſt, *In the day of thy wrath thou ſhalt ſmite through Kings.* Is not this the day of your wrath with your ſinne? are you not angry with them? do you not hate them? if it be ſo, ſhew your ſelves Chriſtians, that you have the Spirit of *Chriſt* in you. Smite through Kings, I meane your kingly luſts; There be kingly reigning ſinnes in men, luſts that do command and imbondage their Spirits to baſe things, coveteouſneſſe, pride, uncleanneſſe, ſelviſhneſſe, inconſtancie, unfaithfulneſſe, unbeliefe, carnall reaſonings, creature feares, and ſuch like, which are predominant in the breſts of men, and indanger their eternall condition, theſe we muſt mortifie elſe we dy for it, and that eternally. *Rom* 8. 13. Let this therefore be one of our great works to mortifie our ſinnes, and to deſtroy them utterly. Many deale too kindly with their ſinnes, they do by them as you do by Malignants in priſon, they have their friends come to them, they have their wine, their feaſts and what they will, onely they are a little reſtrained of their liberty, ſo ſome reſtraine them of their

luſts

lusts and that is all the Martyrdome and Mortification they have, their fantasies give them frequent visits, and feast them with delightfull meditations, and so in sparing of their lusts they ruine themselves. When *Ioab* went out against *Absalom*, what said *David*, *Deale gently with the young man for my sake, and beware that none touch him*, 2 Sam. 18. 5. 12. He would have *Absolom* spared though it tended to the ruine of the Kingdome. And thus is it when we come out against mens Absoloms, their lust, they would have us deale gently with them, not touch them; especially not wound them, their lust they would have spared, though a Kingdom by them should be ruined. But you know how *Ioab* dealt with *Absolom*, *v.* 14. he thrust him thrice through the heart while hee was alive in the midst of the Oake, hee made sure work and prevented future commotions in the Kingdome. You are caught in an Ordinance this day of Prayer and Fasting, it's our aime and desire to strike through the heart of your lusts by the darts of divine truth, that for the future there may be no commotions in your soules. O suffer us to doe it and helpe on the worke, for it lyeth most in your hands. You know what lusts are strong and living in you, set upon them, spare them not. It was an Argument of wickednesse in *Saul* that he spared *Agag*, of righteousnesse in *Samuel* in that he hewed him to pieces; if you spare your lusts, your great and fat ones, it will be an Argument of your wickednesse, but if you hew them in pieces and make a generall slaughter of them, it will be an Argument of your righteousnes, and may produce the good and safety of the whole Kingdome. I beseech you therefore in the name of *Christ*, spare not one *Achan*, one lust, that one may be the ruine of all, one sinner destroyes much good, *Eccles.* 9. 18. and any sinne may hinder much mercy, *Ier* 18. 10. *Now the Axe is laid to the root of every Tree*, we must therefore lay it to the root of every sinne, sinnes of constitution, sinnes of custome, sinnes against heaven and earth, God and man, the least, the

the greateſt, let them all feele the ſharpneſſe and ſtrength of the Axe. He that ſpares any ſinne, doth what lyeth in him to ruine Parliament, Army, Citie, Kingdome, King and all, *Ion.* 3. 8. 10. When every one turned from his evill way, ſo that there was no way of wickedneſſe left unturn'd from, then God turn'd away his fierce anger and ſpared their Citie; if we turne every man from his evill wayes, and all thoſe wayes, we may certainly and ſuddenly expect Gods turning from his fierce wrath, and his walking in wayes of peace and mercy with us. Peace is a deſirable thing, yet not that peace will whet the Axe ſharper, and make it cut deeper; ſuch peace we deſire as will keep the God of peace with us; we take the wrong courſe for peace if we go on in our ſinnes, *Eſ.* 57. 21. *Pſ.* 68. 21. He that cries for peace with his lips, and deſtroyes it with his life, he maintaines the Warrs, divides betweene the King and Parliament, and widens the breaches of the Kingdome. If we will faſt and goe on in ſinfull wayes, we may have a dubious and dangerous peace with men, but it's impoſsible we ſhould have any with God. I ſhall ſhut up this point with that of *Samuel* to the people, 1 *Sam.* 12. 24, 25. *Onely feare the Lord and ſerve him in truth with all your heart, for he hath don great things for you, but if you ſhall ſtill do wickedly, yee ſhall be conſumed, both yee and your King: progreſſe in wickedneſſe produceth not peace.* The true product of it is deſtruction to people, Parliament, King and Kingdome. If we would therefore have all ſafe, peace be in our Borders, and the God of peace be propitious to us, let us depart from all iniquitie.

Hitherto I have ſpoken to all, give me leave now Honourable and worthy Senators, to commend ſome things to your conſiderations. My firſt and humble requeſt is, that the Axe of your power may not ly ſtill, but that Juſtice may be done. God is a God of Juſtice, he makes it knowne to all the world he layes his Axe to the root of the Tree, ſhew your ſelves a Parliament of

Juſtice, let the world know it, lay the Axe to the root of Delinquencie. Neglect of Juſtice, as you heard before, indangers a Kingdome, *Judah* was layd waſt becauſe there was no Judgement executed, *Eſ.* 5. 67. Suffer not a Kingdome to periſh upon that ground. It brings your Authority into contempt; and renders you deſpicable in the eyes of many: whereas if juſtice were done, Authority would be more dreadfull and your perſons more Honourable. 1 *Kings* 3. 28. when Judgement was given between the two Harlots, its ſaid, all *Iſrael* heard and feared; that act ſtruck feare into a whole Kingdom. We do not read what became of the Harlot which took away the Child from the true mother, but it is conceived, and very probably, that ſhe died for it, according to the *Plagiarian* Law, of which you may read, *Exod.* 21. 16. *Deut.* 24. 7. If a man did ſteale an Iſraelite, or the Son of an Iſraelite, any ſoule, and the party were found in his hand, he was ſurely to be put to death; whence we may conclude, the Harlot ſuffered, the whole Kingdom feared, and *Solomon* was honoured for that act of Juſtice; it's execution of juſtice makes Authority to be regarded, and a Kingdome to feare: when your juſtice fell upon that great Cedar above a yeare and halfe agoe did not *England* tremble? did not it make many feare and flie? Juſtice ſecures a Kingdome, but neglect of it makes Courts contemptible and Kingdomes hazardable.

a *Abſque timore illo filij hominum vulg.*

b *Cor hominum audaciæ plenum Tygurin.*

c *Ont le cœur remply pour mal-faire.*

Againe, the neglect of Juſtice enboldens men to goe on in wicked practiſes, *Eccleſ.* 8 11. becauſe ſentence againſt an evill worke is not executed ſpeedily, therefore the hearts of the Sonnes of men is fully ſet in them to doe evill, they are void of all feare ſaith one [a] Tranſlation, [b] filld with boldnes ſaith another; and the [c] French is filld to doe evil. Impunity fills the ſailes of wicked men, and drives them againſt Parliaments, Kingdomes, and Heaven it ſelfe. When great Delinquents go unpuniſhed, [d] divine providence is brought to the Bar and queſtioned, men upon it become Atheiſticall, heady, outragious, diſſo-

a *Ex impunitate ſceleratorum derogatur fides divinæ providentiæ Plut. de Sera numinis vindicta.*

dissolute. Who knowes it not saith [a] *Tullie*, that impunity is the greatest incouragement to impiety. The *Heathen* with his dark Lanthorne could see the truth of this, and shall wee Christians that have the light of life, *John* 8. 12. not see it? [1] *Augustine* long since saw it, and said, take away Justice, and what are Kingdomes but Dens of theeves and places for plunder? wee find and feele the reality of this truth at this day, and are like to lye under guilt till Justice be done.

Lastly, want of justice, increases the number of Delinquents, *Judg.* 17. 6. there was no Justice, and now they were all delinquents, every man did what he list. The words are, there was no King in *Israel*, and yet they were all Kings in *Israel*. They had not then had any King in a [a] strickt sence. Judges were their Governours, and because they did rule and execute Justice, they are stiled Kings, and now they had no Judge no King, and yet they were all Judges, all Kings their lusts were their Lawes, and [b] every man did what was right in his owne eyes. Nature is corrupt, nothing sweeter to it then liberty, and where Justice is suspended, there is a [c] *Commission* to be wicked, but where is most Justice, there are fewest Malefactors and least mischiefe: The [d] *Turkes* are severe and speedy in their Justice which prevents increase of Delinquents and danger. Those Nations are remisse in Justice: besides the sadding of those are innocent, they abound in Delinquents and dangers, its our case at this present; *Englands* dangers are many, because *Englands* Delinquens are not a few, and its not like to be better with us till the justice of a Parliament be so feared, that no Delinquent may expect safety in any part of our Kingdome. Let Justice therefore, O you heads of *Israel* run down as waters, and righteousnesse as a mighty streame: we have mighty sinnes and mighty sinners which make mightie dangers, and if there be not, [e] *torrens justitia*, a streame of Justice, yea a mighty streame, that may [e] runne downe and runne over the Sonnes of *Belial*.

[a] *Quis ignorat maximam illecebram esse peccandi impunitatis spem* Cic. orat pro milone *effrenatus furor alitur impunitate diuturnitate*; pro Sextio.

[1] *Remota justitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia.* Lib. 4 de civit. dei. cap. 4.

[a] *Druſ. ad loca difficiliora Iudicum.*

[b] *Vbi plures regnant ibi nemo imperat.*

[c] *Deterio res omnes fiunt licentia Terent.*

[d] *Blunt in his voyage to the Levant.*

[e] גבחל איתן *Sicut torrens fortis.*

[e] *Iudicium contra vos fiet, ut vos obruat Caly.*

Baal, will not be taken away, our guilt and ſpot will not be purged, nor our Land ſecured. You are the Supreme Court of Juſtice, let the Sunne be darke and the Sea dry before your ſtreams doe ceaſe flowing. In *Moſes* dayes men wondred at the dryneſſe of the Red Sea. In *Chriſts* dayes they wondred at the darkning of the Sunne, but let none wonder for want of Juſtice. Open your Sluces, and let the floods of Juſtice carry down the floods of Iniquity. [t] *Lewes* one of the Kings of *France* having ſpared upon intreaty a man deſerved death, and reading that in the 106. *Pſalme* 3. ***Bleſſed are they that keep Judgement, and he that doth righteouſneſſe at all times***, this doing righteouſneſſe at all times, ſo wrought upon him, that preſently he reverſed what he had granted, and ſaid, ***He that hath power to puniſh ſin and doth it not, becommeth a Patron of it, and is as guilty before God. as if himſelfe had committed it***; and that its Piety not Cruelty to execute Juſtice. If the ſpirit of this Prince were in all the Princes and Magiſtrates of the Chriſtian world, what a ſudden change ſhould we ſee. The Lenitie many propound and plead for, proves cruelty to particulars, to whole Eſtates: It made [s] *Cato* ſay that thoſe powers did not puniſh Delinquents, were not onely to be rejected, but to be ſton'd, leaſt their indulgence might damnifie the State. He ſaw neglect of Juſtice did prejudice Kingdomes, and wee ſee, the want of it hinders much, if not all our good I ſpeak not this from mine own head, but I will give you the warrant of a Prophet for it *Ierem.* 6. 29. ***The founder melts in vaine, for the wicked are not pluckt away***: Miniſters are Founders, they are to melt, make men fit for a ſpirituall eſtate; you are Founders are melting and making men fit for a Politique condition, but both you and we melt in vaine, and the reaſon is given, ***the wicked are not pluckt away***, while they ſtand, the labour is in vaine: and what can an Army do, if Juſtice march not with them? *Achan* will ſooner overthrow *Iſrael* then take *Ai*: but when Juſtice was executed and he ſton'd,

[t] *Annalls of France cited by Alepide in numeros.*

[s] *Eos Magiſtratus qui maleficos pœnis non coercent, non tantum, non ferendos ſed lapidibus obruendos, eſſe, ne ex pœnæ neglectu ſalus reipublicæ labefiret Plut. in vita Caton.*

ſton'd, *As* was eaſie to take, God was then with *Iſrael* and fild them with ſpirit to do exploits. Its thought by men of wildome that if your power had acted more and penſeſſe, we had bin in a fafer condition, and God more propitious. Juſtice pacifies wrath, when neglect thereof provokes it. Some fear execution of Juſtice will kindle a fire, and make ſtirres in Kingdomes: but *Fiat juſtitia, & ruat mundus*, Gods way will never deſtroy Gods worke; let Juſtice be done, and God will looke to the world, and Kingdomes of it. Further ſee how croſſe mens thoughts are to divine, *Phinehas* executes juſtice upon great ones, and what followed? a Commotion? no, Gods wrath was turned away, and a Covenant of peace made, *Numb.* 25. 8. 11, 12. Seeing hee hath executed juſtice and honour'd me, ſaith God, behold I give unto him my Covenant of peace, and will honour him. In publique calamities the [h] Sacrifice of a wicked man is a Peace Offering, and may prevent great wrath.

h *Non pinguior mactari victima Deo poteſt quam homo ſceleratus*, Senec.

If Powers will winke at wickedneſſe, they may remedy, the time may quickly come, they ſhall ſmart for judgements they cannot prevent. It's injuſtice and want of juſtice that diſturbs Kingdomes and Cities: doth not that treacherous plot of *Briſtoll* juſtifie what is ſaid? Doth it not cry alowd for juſtice? and ſhall it be forgotten? Let the waters of juſtice flow and they will refreſh. It was the River in *Eden* that made Paradiſe ſo ſweet and flouriſhing, and ſtreames of Juſtice may make us a Paradiſe once againe, being almoſt a Wilderneſſe. When *Ioab*, *Shimei* and *Adonijah* were cut down by *Solomons* axe, then was the Kingdom eſtabliſhed. 1 *Kings* 2. 46. If Juſtice be at a ſtand, and cannot take hold of living Delinquents, to keepe the Axe from ruſt, let Juſtice be executed upon liveleſſe Delinquents. Are there no Altars? no high places? no Crucifixes? no Croſſes in the open ſtreets that are bow'd unto and Idoliz'd? lay your Axe to their rootes and hew them downe. In *Ezek.* God threatens the deſtruction of their Cities, becauſe they

ſpared their Altars, Idols, Images, and owne works, *chap.* 6. 6. Let us ſecure our Cities and ſave God that labour, down with all is ſuſpitious, ſcandalous, and ſuperſtitious. Thus have I done my firſt motion.

Motion 2. The ſecond is, that the Axe of God being layd to the roote of our Kingdome, you would have a ſpeciall care of the root, while that is ſafe there is hope, *Job*, 14 7.

1. Do your utmoſt to keepe God with us, yet he, is in the midſt of us, *Ier.* 14. we are his people, hee is *Ier.* 14. 9. our God, yet we have no Bill of Divorce, and *Lo-ammi* is not written over our Gates, do what lies in you to keepe off ſuch a miſchiefe. If God ſhould depart and diſanull his Covenant with us, moſt dreadfull things would betide us, *Hoſ.* 9. 12. *Woe to them when I depart from them*, all evills preſently ſtep, croud in upon a people left of God, then publique enterpriſes proſper not, 2 *Chron.* 24. 20. 24. then Counſell failes, 1 *Sam.* 28. 15. Then protection ends. *Eſa.* 50. 5. Then peace, loving kindneſſe and mercy goe, *Ierem.* 16. 5. And ſuch Judgements are as taking the Sunne out of the firmament, and the Soule out of the Body. Popery is the thing produceth ſuch effects, *Ezek.* 8. it's like *Ezekiels* Chambers full of abhominations, and hath that malignity in it as to drive God from his people. You have bin preſt to the [i] extirpation of it, had thoughts to effect it: Let them not die in you but come to perfection, and ingage us yet in a more firme Covenant to the Lord, that we may for ever be the Lords, and the Lord ours, according to what you heard out of [k] *Ier.* 50. 5.

i Mr. Newcomb. *Serm. on the* 5. *of* Novemb. 1642.

k Dr. *Burges.*

2. Looke to the Civill power, let not that be reſted out of your hands, your *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, your *Parliament Priviledges*, what have bin taken from you recover, what have layen dormant and tend to publique good revive; what obtruſions and bonds have bin put upon you *adhibete ſecurim & imputate*, You are a free Parliament, preſerve your freedome, our Laws and Liberties are in your hands, let them not ſuffer: The being

being and lively-hood of the Kingdome depends much thereon. *Leges terræ & Statuta regni*, are the Sinewes and Bonds of the body politick, wound them and the Kingdome bleeds, loose them and the life of it's gone. Arbitrary Government is a dangerous thing; a Comet that threatens deſtruction to the Country, it's over: you tell us [l] *That acts of will and Tyranny are the ingredients into it, that neither Parliament nor Kingdome can be ſafe with it*: Let your convictions cauſe prevention, improve your power; let not *Eng:* become a houſe of bondage a 2d. *Ægypt.*

l *Declaration* Aug. 3. 1642.

3. Let Religion and truth be pretious in your eyes, they are of [m] ſuch conſequence, as that without them is little peace or ſafety to Kingdomes That ſtate preſerves truth, will the God of truth preſerve. When *Ieroboam* gave way to plauſible inventions, he layd the foundation for his own and the Kingdomes ruine, 1 *King* 14. The Church of *Philadelphia* had a ſpeciall care of Gods word, *Rev.* 3. 10. and found the fruit of it, becauſe thou haſt kept the word of my patience, not onely in their hearts, in their practiſe, but alſo becauſe [n] they had kept it from being taken away, from corruption therefore God would keepe them from the houre of temptation. Gods word is in danger oft by Hæreſies, Schiſmes, Perſecutions, if we will ingage our ſelves for it, GOD will ingage himſelfe for us, but if we deſert the truth, both God and truth will be againſt us. * The *Damiſh* Prelats ſtood not for pure Religion, but chiefly for that was their own, and therefore were caſt out by Prince and people in the yeare, 1537 God priſeth his truth at a high rate, he will deſtroy Nations for the ſafety of his people. *Eſ.* 43. 3. and he will deſtroy heaven and earth for the ſafety of his truth, *Aſſa.* 5. 18. that he Magnfies above all his name, *Pſal.* 148. 2. This whole Creation, this viſible name of GOD is little to his eternall Truths. Let truth therefore be gracious with you, and contend with all your might for the faith, that it be not pul'd from us. The onely wiſe God bids you

m *Tanti momenti Religio & fides & jus ſacrorum in omni humana reſpublica ut ab illa una potiſſimum pendeat pax & tranquillitas cujuſque regni* Spalatenſ: *de republ. Eccleſ.* l. 6. c. 5.

n Beza *annotat. in* 1 Joh. 5 18. *τηρεῖν ἐστο keepe from dangers.*

* *Chytræus Chron. Sax n.*

Iud. 3.

you by the wiſeſt of men, to buy the Truth and not to ſell it, *Proverbs* 23. 23. it's worth all mens labours, liberties and lives, it cannot be over bought; looſe Religion and Truth, and we have loſt all that is conſiderable; where theſe go, the Bleſsing goes, *Ier.* 31. 23. *The Lord bleſſe thee O habitation of Iuſtice, and Mountaine of Holyneſſe.* Where the Laws are executed, and pure Religion is maintained, there is a habitation of Juſtice, a Mountain of Holyneſſe, and the bleſsing of God upon them both. If you love bleſsings and would avoyd curſes, keep Religion in it's own luſtre, and rather let Men and Kingdomes, then Truth fall to the Earth; yet the way to make earthly Kingdoms happie, is to uphold the Kingdom of heaven.

Fourthly, The godly in the Kingdome, Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and people, let them be preſerved, they are the root of a Kingdome: it was *Ioſeph* preſerved *Egypt*, and the Kingdome of the *Egyptians*: when the *Iſraelites* were driven out of *Egypt*, the *Egyptians* were quickly deſtroyed, and their Kingdome ruined: for *Pauls* ſake all the ſoules in the Ship were kept alive, *Act.* 27. *Moſes* kept Gods hand in Heaven that he did not deſtroy his people on earth, *Exod.* 32. 10. A godly man is of great worth, *Elijah* did more good by his faſting, and Prayer, by oppoſing *Ahab*, and deſtroying *Baals* Prieſts, then the Chariots and Horſemen of *Iſrael*. The godly are the Forts and Magazines of a Kingdome: It was *Lot* upheld *Sodome*, when he was gone, the brimſtone came and the City was turned into aſhes, the place is very remarkable *Gen.* 19. 22. Haſt thee, eſcaped to *Zoar*, I cannot doe any thing till thou comeſt thither; what the righteouſneſſe of one *Lot* to preponderate the Iniquities of all *Sodom*, where were thouſands? O wonder! O the weight of one Saint! away *Lot*, eſcape to *Soar*, I cannot doe any thing till thou comeſt thither: but were not their ſins great and many? be it ſo, yet I cannot doe any thing till thou comeſt thither: but were not their ſins full? Yes, they

they were, yet I cannot doe any thing till thou come to *Zoar*. But Lord art thou not come downe to execute Judgement without mercy: Its truth yet I cannot do it till thou come to *Zoar*; my hands are tyed, fire and brimstone will not come downe from Heaven while *Lot's* in *Sodome*. Thou art the man that hinders all, Bee gone, haſt to *Zoar*, but *Lot* lingers and will not make haſt, then I muſt linger alſo ſaith God, if he ſtick my Judgements muſt ſticke, till he be gone I cannot doe any thing. Here's the worth and excellencie of a righteous man, he keepes off Judgements, even brimſtone Judgements from a City and a Kingdome.

Great things will God doe for a good mans ſake, 2 *King.* 20. 6. I will defend this City for mine owne ſake, and for my ſervant *Davids* ſake. God joynes *David* with himſelfe, and puts great honour upon him, its aſwell for his ſake as for Gods, that *Ieruſalem* is defended. The Saints are deare to God, he doth much for them, and for their ſakes and ſhall they not be deare to you: there is a choice Prophecy in 1 *Zech.* 12. 5. the Governours of *Iudah* ſhall ſay in their hearts, the Inhabitants of *Ieruſalem* my ſtrength in the Lord of Hoſts their God, they were newly come out of *Babylon*, their enemies that oppoſed them in the worke of the Temple, and Reformation were many, the number of the godly was few, yet their eyes were upon them. The Governours of *Iudah* ſaid in their heart, the Inhabitants of Jeruſalem, my ſtrength in the Lord of Hoſts their God, every Governour looked at all the godly in *Ieruſalem*, and account of them as his ſtrength in particular, and they look't not at the godly in themſelves as poore few, weake and deſpicable but they looked at them in the Lord of Hoſts, their God. They ſaw that thoſe perſons had intereſt in the Lord of Hoſts, that he was their ſtrength and defence: Whereupon they own'd them, cloſ'd with them, and countenanc'd them, knowing that theſe men and their God would bee aſſured ſtrength and ſufficient

defence unto them. You that are the Governours of our *Judah*, caſt your eyes upon the godly, and lay in your hearts, theſe are our ſtrength in the Lord of Hoſts their God, theſe have bin faithfull unto us, and wee will be ſhields unto them, for ſo the word Ruler ſignifies, *Hoſ.* 4. 18. *Victor Vicenſis* tells of one that had a viſion, of a Tree that reached up to Heaven, and ſpread its branches farre, ſo that all delighted in the greatnes and beauty of it, but ſuddenly there came a wild beaſt and rub'd at the root of it, and overthrew the ſame. This Tree was the Church which ſpread through all *Affrica, Hunnerick*; an *Arrian* Prince was the wild Beaſt, who baniſhed and martyred the Orthodox amongſt them, and laid all waſte; where the Godly are driven out there Judgements are drawn in, if mens Axes cut downe the trees are green: Gods Axes muſt and will cut down the Trees are dry.

* *Victor in Vand.*

3. Thirdly, The next thing I humbly deſired of you is that ſeeing God layes his Axe to the root of the Tree, that there may be a through Reformation of all evills in the Kingdome, but eſpecially in the worſhip of God, partiall reformation makes way for a future deſolation. Our Reformation was conceived heretofore in ſinne, and now hath brought forth Iniquity, if it had bin formed according to the mind of God, we ſhould not have had ſuch ſtirs and troubles in theſe daies; if any therefore have built up Hay, Straw, and Stubble, let your fire burne up ſuch combuſtible matter; if bryars and thornes do grow in the Sanctuarie, let your Axe cut them downe, 2 *Chron.* 14. 3. 5. When *Aſa* tooke away Altars, high places, brake the Images, cut downe the Groves then had the Kingdome quiet before him, its ſuch traſh as Altars, Images, Ceremonies and inventions of men, which do diſquiet Kingdomes, Churches, Conſciences. Mens thoughts are, that removall of them will breed diſturbance, its their ſtanding not their taking away doth it. When we go in Gods way, breaking and

and banishing out of Gods worship the needleſſe, ſcandalous, and accurſed things, God overules ſpirits which are oppoſite, and a Kingdome is at reſt. *Aſa* tooke the Images and high places out of all the Cities of *Iudah*, and yet the Kingdome was quiet; the more exact in the things of God, the better ſucceſſe. God would not have the names of Idols and ſuperſtitious things left amongſt us, *Hoſ.* 2. 16, 17, 18. *Thou ſhalt call mee no more* Baali, Baalim *muſt be no more in their minds or memories*, It was a good [q] name, but becauſe abuſ'd to Idolatry, God would not endure it. A great name is no great matter in mans judgement, it was much in Gods, and hee would have a perfect Reformation, not tollerate the leaſt evill, and thereupon he makes a Covenant with all creatures for them, and promiſes to breake the bow, ſword, battle out of the earth, and to make them lye down ſafely. You ſee a through reformation is the readieſt way to greateſt ſecurity. The [q] *Papiſts* hope by names and termes of theirs to worke in their faith amongſt us, they call our words *novitates vocum*, and keep the old termes, Penance, Prieſt, Maſſe, Altar, Sacrifice, &c. Theſe words, ſay they will bring us to the faith of our firſt Apoſtles, I beſeech you therefore to daſh their hopes, take away theſe names and dayes, they ſo confide in Neaſt-eggs, yea cockatrice eggs, they are and may [r] breed Serpents, tread them under your feet, ſhew your ſelves children of that Father who hates ſuperſtitious names, times, things, and loves a perfect worke, *Eſa.* 1. 25. I will turne my hand upon thee and purely purge away thy droſſe, and take way all thy ſinne. God will not endure droſſe and ſinne in the Shekells of the Sanctuarie, thoſe things dim the glorie and imbaſe the ſubſtance, they muſt out; and becauſe there be many adverſities and great oppoſition to works of Reformation therefore ſaith God in the *verſ.* before, I will eaſe mee of mine adverſaries, doe they hinder ſo needfull ſo good, ſo great and ſo glorious a worke, ah! will eaſe my ſelfe of ſuch adverſaries; and if men will not

[q] *Baali my Lord.*

[q] *Vide Cartw. Anſw. to Rhem. Teſtam. on 1 Tim. 6. 20.*

(r) *Rudera veteris ſuperſtitioni erunt rudementa novæ.*

not do the worke my hand ſhall do it and do it throughly. It's mans wiſdome to do that aforehand which God will doe by his judgements. In this 3 of *Matth* 12. Chriſt is preſented with his Fanne in his hand, and reſolution to purge it to purpoſe. The Jewes would not part with their Moſaicall Worſhip, they ſtuck to the Ceremonies and Rites of the Temple, but becauſe they would not purge out the corruptions crept in, nor part with the ſhaddow for the ſubſtance now come, therefore Chriſt fann'd them by a terrible judgment deſtroy'd them, their Temple, and all the Formalities of it, ſetting up pure and Spirituall Worſhip, which had they admitted, their deſtruction might have bin prevented, *Luke* 13. 33. 34.

What corruptions are got into the worſhip of God, is not unknowne to you, the Worthies of our *Iſrael*, turne your hand upon us and purely purge out all the droſſe is there. If things be not evident to you, make an exact ſcrutinie, and whatever you finde without Chriſts ſuperſcription, is adulterate, he will not owne nor bleſſe it. *Ius divinum*, is his ſtampe, and what hath that Chriſt will owne. O ſuffer nothing to be in his Houſe, which hath not a divine impreſsion upon it, which is not after Chriſt, *Col.* 2 8. and for the future let nothing be brought in which is after men and not after Chriſt; let no worldly rudiments approach his preſence, when *Nadab* and *Abihu*, brought ſtrange fire into the worſhip of God, fire went out from the Lord and made them a Sacrifice; there was nothing againſt their fire, but this was it, they had no Warrant for it, God commanded it not, *Levit.* 10. 1, 2. Let ſome fiery law go forth from you that may ſcorch all ſuch as ſhall hereafter dare to joine their poſts with Gods, and mingle their chaffe with his Wheate, and let not any lawes be of force, that may countenance ſuch evills, uphold ſuſpected things, or prejudice the liberty of tender conſciences, yea wayes of worſhip which may prove ſnares to you, or your *Poſterity*; put the Ax of your power unto them, and hew them down.

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There is another thing yet, and very deſirable, you have been faithfull to the Kingdome hitherto, go on ſtill to be faithfull: you are Ambaſſadours of the greateſt King, the great things of heaven and earth are committed to your care; the glory of *Iehovah*, the Goſpel of Chriſt, the welfare of Churches, the good of Kingdomes; and in ſome reſpect of the whole Chriſtian world is in your hands. Olives and Figgetrees will not let go their fatneſſe and ſweetneſſe, do not you let goe your faithfullneſſe: put forth your ſelves, and do what you can for the glory of God, the Goſpel, the Churches, the Kingdome, the world.

All theſe waite and expect much at your hands, *Prov.* 13.17. *A wicked meſſenger falleth into miſchief, but a faithfull Ambaſſadour is health.* Meſſengers of a State have power to doe great things, if men will be byaſſed with feare, promiſes and ſelviſh reſpects, importunities of friends, and the like, they ſhall fall into miſchief: God hath ſaid it, and well it ſhall not be with them, but a faithfull * Ambaſſadour he is health, health to his own conſcience, he is health to a Kingdome, health to the Churches, health to all. God calls to you to help Him *againſt the mighty*; the Churches call to you to help them againſt corruptions, Innovations, impoſitions: this Kingdome, *Ireland* cryes to you for help againſt diſtractions, oppreſſions, bloud, ruine: now ſhew your ſelves Helpers and Healers. In *Prov.* 25.12. it's ſaid *A faithfull meſſenger refreſheth the ſoule of them that ſend him:* It's not the head, but the ſoule, the heart is refreſhed by ſuch a man; the Hebrew is, *He cauſeth the ſoule of his Lord to returne*: and we may truly ſay to your comfort and honour, that the ſoule Religion and the Kingdome hath, you have cauſed it under God to returne. We were dying, Religion and Kingdome were dying, and you have given us a little reviving, the Lord reward you fully for it: go on and ſhew your faithfullneſſe, bring it to perfection, *Eſa.* 11.5. faithfullneſſe is the golden girdle of Chriſt.

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Some Expoſitors underſtand by righteouſneſſe and faithfullneſſe, righteous and faithfull men, which are as neare and deare to Chriſt as his girdle; a great and glorious ornament unto him. There is much difference between thoſe are for Chriſt, and thoſe are newters or againſt him: in the 17. *Rev.* when the Kings of the earth ſhall give their power to the Beaſt, and make warre with the Lamb, the victory is the Lambs, and they that are with him are *call'd, choſen* and *faithfull*. Let not a neutralizing or oppreſſing ſpirit be found amongſt you: ſhew your ſelves All now to be with and for the Lamb, His cauſe, His Churches, His People and you ſhall have that honour as to be ſtil'd *call'd, choſen faithfull*. It's good being with the Lamb when the Axe is at the root, and having honour from Chriſt when contempt is powring down upon the heads of others. Faithfull men have the bleſſings, when others have blowes and curſes, *Prov.* 28. 20. *A faithfull man abounds with bleſſings*, his bleſſings are without number; he ſhall have the bleſſings of the preſent people; the bleſſings of Generations to come, the bleſſings of heaven, the great God will powre forth his bleſſings upon ſuch, and ſay to them as to faithfull *Abraham, Gen.* 12. 2. *I will bleſſe you and make your names great, and you ſhall be a bleſſing, and thoſe that bleſſe you ſhall be bleſſed*: the great God will powre forth great bleſſings upon you, and mens curſes ſhall never come neere you; If emergents of time ſhould prove ſuch as that you ſhould not accompliſh what you intend, yet you ſhall not goe without a bleſſing. *Pſal.* 84. 5. *Bleſſed is the man in whoſe heart are the wayes of God.*

There is another obſervation for all, in which I will be briefe, it's this, *That the way to ſave a dying Kingdome from ruine, is by bringing forth good fruit*: Now the Axe is layd to the root of the Tree, every Tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewen downe and caſt into the fire. There is fruit unto Death, *Rom.* 7. 5. this the Kingdome abounds withall, and hath brought us under a ſentence

ſentence of death. There is fruit unto Holyneſſe, *Rom.* 6. 22. and fruit unto God, *Rom.* 7. 2. theſe laſt are the fruits we muſt beare; If our fruit be unto holyneſſe, it's fruit unto God. and will reprive us from death. But to beare ſuch fruit more then nature is requiſite, *Semen naturæ non conſurgit in fructum Gratiæ*, It is not naturall abillities be they never ſo great and excellent, it is not Morall principles and vertues which will ſuffice: If a man have not *aliquid amplius*, all is nothing, his fruit is ſowre, *Rom.* 8. 7. the wiſdome of the fleſh is enmity againſt God. If you would bring forth fruit to ſave your ſoules and a Kingdome alſo, you muſt get into Chriſt, *John* 15. 4. Labour to be rooted in him. *Col.* 2. 7. who is the root of *Jeſſe*, *Rom.* 15. 12. you muſt have divine faculties, 1 *John* 5. 20. divine habits, *Eph.* 2. 8. divine motions and operations, *Phil.* 2. 13. and after all this you muſt act by a divine rule, and for a divine end and then your fruit is good, even ſuch as will keep the Tree from cutting down. There is great difference in trees and fruits, there is a Vine of *Sodome* as well as of *Sibmah*, *Deut.* 32. 32. *Eſa* 16 8. both are Vines, have their leaves and cluſters: but in the one is a bleſſing, on the other is a curſe.

τὸ φρονήμα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν

Cain and *Abel* goe forth to Sacrifice, the one is accepted, the other deſpiſed, the *Phariſee* goes to Prayer with the *Publican*, the one is juſtified, the other condemned: The *Egyptians* went the ſame way with the *Iſraelites*, but they were drown'd where the *Iſraelites* were ſaved. looke narrowly to your ſelves therefore what trees you are, what fruit you beare. There will be *diſtinctum judicium*, and the waies ſeem right in a mans own eyes may prove death. *Prov.* 14. 12. Let not flatteries and vaine pretences undoe you: what if you have been baptiſed? So was *Simon Magus*. What if you keepe faſts? So did the *Iewes*, and yet not faſt unto God. If you heare the Word gladly, and reforme in many things ſo did *Herod*: if you pray, *Matth.* 7. 21. Its not every one that ſaith Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdome of Heaven; there

Rom. 12. 11. *Eſ.* 60. 17. 54 11, 12 *Rom.* 8. 21.

is

is more then all theſe to be looked after, you muſt be in Chriſt, not have a name to be in him, but ſee to it in truth, that you be in him: The great worke is to make out that you are in Chriſt, moſt preſume and are undone by it. Gods judgement and mans differ much, and you will finde it when you come to die, his thoughts are not ours. Many that thinke themſelves figgrees will be found brambles, and the fruit of many trees will bee found naught, which hath now an excellencie upon it if you walke after the fleſh and not after the ſpirit, you are not in Chriſt, and that man is not in Chriſt, is *Arbor damnabilis* a Tree for the fire.

Aliter judicium Dei aliter judicium hominis.

I ſhould now exhort all to be fruitfull, time permits it not. I will onely turne my ſpeech a little unto you, O Noble Senators, ſeeing bearing of good fruit is a ſpeciall meanes to ſave a Kingdome, labour to abound in every good word and worke, to beare much fruit, and fruit anſwerable to your opportunities. God hath planted you in this Parliament to beare ſome choice fruit. If any ſhould aske what doe you here? Let your anſwer be, We are zealous for the Lord of Hoſts. When *Eſther* was advanced ſhe would not looſe her opportunities. She will in to the King, although contrary to a Law, ſhe will have the liberty of her people, and *Hamans* head off, and venture Her life to accompliſh it. If I periſh, I periſh, *chap.* 4. 16. *Ioſia*, *Hezekiah*, tooke their opportunities and make a thorough reformation in *Iudah*: you know what great things *Eliah* did *in ſpiciente & reluctante rege*, 1 *Kings* 18. *Nehemiah* and *Ezra*, for all the enemies ſcoffing cunning complyances to build with them, taking up Armes to ſubdue them, they tooke their times, improv'd their opportunities and brought forth fruit anſwerable to the expectation of heaven and earth, they built up the Temple and walls of *Ieruſalem*. It was *Ahabs* ſinne, he loſt his opportunity, in letting *Benhadad* go a man that God had appointed unto death and it coſt him his life for it, 1 *Kin* 22. 31. Men are ſnared

in

in an evill time becauſe they know not their time. *Eccl.* 9.12. You may be timeſervers and obſervers without ſin. The richeſt opportunities that ever men had are in your hands, obſerve them and ſerv the Lord in them. It's good fruit for a Parliament to ſet up a faithfull conſcientious Miniſtry all the Kingdome over, to have a care of all Schooles of learning, that no corrupt opinions or practiſes be there: it's good fruit to abrogate ill Laws, to ſee to execution of thoſe are good, to call for an exacter Tranſlation of Holy Scripture, to helpe Ireland, to inquire after and countenance the Gouernment of Chriſt and al thoſe particulars you have bin preſt unto by thoſe you have cal'd to preach before you on theſe dayes. Have you not found the materialls of our Jeruſalem rubbiſh, iron, and braſſe, now give us gold for braſſe, ſilver for iron, and pretious ſtones for rubbiſh. Now lay the Foundations thereof with Saphires, make the windowes of Agates, the Gates of Carbuncles, and all the Borders of pleaſant ſtones; then ſhall you ſet the priſoners of hope at liberty. Theſe things are foretold, in their time are to be fulfil'd, and we deſire your hands may helpe on ſo great and glorious a worke. The whole Creation groanes to be delivered from the bondage of corruption, and we groan to be delivered from ſuch bondage. If you ſhall deliver us and ſet us in ſuch a condition, you ſhall be as *Gods* unto us, you ſhall be our *Ieſhuahs*, though not our *Ieſſes*, *Saviours* of our liberties, lives, Kingdom, Religion, All onely not of our Soules.

τῷ καιρῷ σου ἀνάπαυσις. Eſt. 60.17. 54.11,12. Rom.12.11.

Laſtly, let not the frut of Prayer be wanting in any: it's choyce fruit, and of great efficacie. The Ninivites cryed mightily and obtained mercy. The foundation of the Jewes deliverance was layd in *Mordecaies*, *Eſthers*, and the peoples Prayers. *Aſaes* prayers overthrew the greateſt Army we read of. 2 *Chron.* 14.9.11. The prevalencie of Prayer is yet unknowne. When the Maſter bid the Gardner cut down the Tree, *Luke* 13.7. The Gardner being tender of it, interceeds, and interceeding gets

Jon.3. Eſt 4.16.

the Axe removed. We are dreſſers of the Garden, and ſhall cry to God to ſpare it, and give him no reſt: You likewiſe are principall dreſſers, and we hope will not faile to intreeed for this Land and People, the want of your prayers may retard it not ruine the buſineſſe, Exod. 32. 10. Others prayers may doe ſomthing they may doe much: but when *Moſes* prayers come they doe all, *Let me alone* (ſaith God) *that my wrath may wax hot againſt them and I will make of thee a great Nation.* Behold a wonder, the great God petitioning ſinfull man! and that which is yet more, man denying Gods petition. *Moſes* would not let *God* alone he would not be hired or byaſſed by *God* himſelfe to looſe the people, he would not compound or comply with *God* himſelfe. If *God* would not blot out the peoples ſinnes, he requeſts *God* to blot him out of his Booke. *Moſes* knew he had brought them out of *Ægypt*, ingaged them in a Warre with *Amalek*, expoſ'd them to many difficulties and dangers, and therefore he is tender of the people and could not leave them, or any part of them, (when he had a great opportunity to do it) unto the wrath of a provoked King and *God*. He puts *God* in minde of his Name and Oath, What will the *Ægyptians* ſay, and didſt not thou ſweare to *Abraham Iſaack* and *Iſrael* when thou tookeſt them and their Seed to be thy people and promiſedſt them to be their God and Soveraigne, that thou wouldeſt multiplie them, and wilt thou now deſtroy them; Lord do it not; provide for thy Name, thine Oath, thy people; and what was the iſſue? The Lord repented of the evill intended and ſpared the people. You that are the *Moſſes* that ſit at the Sterne, and know all paſſages, haſten to the Lord, poure out your hearts before him, your ſighs teares, prayers may remove the Axe and ſecure the Kingdome, preſſe him with *Moſes* his Arguments and you may have his Anſwer, and make us all happy by your prayers and endeavours.

verſ. 32.

verſ. 12, 13.

FINIS.



K. P. P. Oxford

The First Weeke. 3

MERCVRIVS RVSTICVS,

OR

THE COVNTRIES Complaint of the Murthers, Robberies, Plundrings, and other Outrages,

COMMITTED,

BY THE REBELLS, on His MAJESTIES faithfull SUBJECTS.

Ier. 15. 13.

Thy Substance and thy Treasures will I give to the Spoyle without price, And that for all thy Sinnes even in all thy Borders.

May 20. 1643.

The First Week.

MERCVRIVS RVSTICVS,

OR

THE COVNTRIES Complaint of the Murthers, Robberies, Plunderings, and other Outrages COMMITTED BY THE REBELLS on His Majesties faithfull SUBJECTS.

Isa. 15. 13.

Thy Substance and thy Treasures will I give to the Spoyle without price, And that for all thy Sinnes even in all thy Borders.

1643.

To the Reader.

IT is the great Wiſdome and Iuſtice of God to puniſh men in thoſe very things which in a kind of ſecret Idolatry they ſet up in their hearts in Competition with their maker. This Truth never received greater Teſtimony from any Kingdom or Nation then from this of Ours: it was not long ſince that we complained (how juſtly I will not now diſpute) of many grievances both in Church and State. In the Church we feared the Reeſtabliſhment of Superſtition and Popery, and through that groundleſſe feare, we looked even on the eſtabliſhed innocent Ceremonies of the Church as on dangerous innovations and introductions to Idolatry. In the State we fancied endeavours of an Arbitrary Government, Advancing of a boundleſſe prerogative, even to the deſpoyling the Subject of his property, and robbing him of his Birthright, the benefit of the Lawes. To free us of theſe fears and aboliſh theſe Iealouſies, we would needs preſcribe to God, and limit the holy one of *Iſrael*, as if it had been impoſſible for his providence to relieve us but by a Parliament. Moſt men did think what Mr *Smith* a Member of the Lower Houſe did not ſtick blaſphemouſly to

ſpeak within thoſe walls, and bluſhed not afterward to publiſh in Print, *That nothing could free us from thoſe dangers but the Divinity of a Parliament*, and forgat to take God along, who is to ſtand in the Congregation of Princes, and is a Iudge among Gods. At laſt, to ſatisfy I cannot ſay, but to puniſh our Importunity, God gave us a Parliament as he gave the *Iſraelites* a King, in his Anger.

When Sir *Thomas Moores* Lady had long and paſſionately deſired a Child crying out with Impatient *Rachell, give mee Children or elſe I dye*, God at laſt fulfilled her Requeſt, but in proceſſe of time when the Parents thought to reap the Content of their hopes and expectation, for ſo it was, the Father comparing the Mothers importunity with the Child's diſpoſition, ſo farre ſhort of any promiſe of thoſe abilities which were eminent in him, that the ſonne (for ſo the child was) ſeemed to partake ſomething of the Foole, he told his Lady, *That ſhe had long deſired a child, and God had heard her prayers, for a Child ſhe deſired and God had given her one that was like to continue a Child as long as he lived*: Thereby implying, that it is oftentimes a puniſhment of Impetuous deſires, That God may give the thing deſired, but ſo blaſted with his Curſe, That beſides the name there is little elſe to be found in it: And if it be not our caſe at this day, let the World judge.

Let no man miſtake mee, I would not be ſo underſtood, as if I indeavoured to derogate any thing from the honour, much leſſe from the conſtitution and being of Parliaments: No, while they move in their own Sphere each State reſpectively injoying its priviledge without intrenchment from another, and all contributing their ſeverall Capacities to the advancement of the common good, in a happy conjunction they impart a ſweet influence on the Kingdome, which

which makes both Church and State to thrive the better. The blessings which God by Parliaments hath conveyed unto us, are not to be denied, but acknowledged with all thankfulnesse; All that we find fault with is, that we make not only the whole but perhaps a part of the Parliament, and that a Factious part too, an Idoll; Not only by Attributing unto it infallibility of Judgement, Incapability of doing injustice, unlimited and more then Regall power, exemptions of being accountable for their Votes and Proceedings, though but at the barre of Right Reason; (Fopperies which with Scorne and derision we cry downe, and that justly in the Church of *Rome* in respect of their Popes) but the Terminating our confidence also in them, for the taking away grievances and making them the last Resolution of our hope: And while we doe thus provoke God to Iealousy, 'Tis no wonder that he hath provoked us to wonder and amazement by turning our blessing into a Curse.

For he that shall but looke on the sad effects of this Parliament, and shall without partiality consider those horrid Fruits which we have reaped by it, can never perswade himselfe to think that God intended it for a blessing; unlesse we can judge the Prophanation of our Religion, the Blaspheming our Church and Liturgy, the banishment of our gratious Soveraigne, the violation and contempt of our Lawes, the Inslaving and Murthering our Persons, the Plundring our Estates, and the multiplying our miseries a thousand fold more then they were, are to be numbred amongst the guifts of Gods right hand: if this be tokens of his favour, where shall we find the Symptoms of his anger? Yet how Angry are some men that we applaud not our miseries, nor cry *Hosanna* to our destroyers? That we are not undone and that thank our endoers.

But by their leaves, whether pleased or not pleased, they must give us leave to lament our condition; and tell the world, I, and Posterity too, to the perpetuall infamy of Anabaptists and Brownists, the unheard of sufferings of their forefathers: if possibly they can bring faith enough to believe our Report and shall not think our true Miseries a Studied fiction, as if we meant to impose on our Children an easy credulity, to admit fables for Histories: for what credit can we hope this Relation shall find with after ages that reports such cruelties and oppressions, such Sacriledges and Prophanations, that, all circumstances considered, can find no parallell in time past, and God forbid should find in time to come, Acts that have our done the Outrages of the wild *Irish*, the barbarismes of *Gothes* and *Vandales*, or any other spoylers whose cruelties are gone into a Proverb.

Goodwin. And though the *Red Dragon*, not in the Revelation, but in *Colman-street*, disgorge his Malice, and casts out Floods of Slanders after those that keep Loyalty to their Soveraigne, in His book called *Anticavalierisme*, complaining of their Cruelties, and exciting the people to bend themselves against them as the Pests and Enemies of the Commonwealth, yet to whom we owe the desolation of this Kingdome, and who those miscreants are that eat up the people as if they eat bread, and swallow up the Inheritance of the Lord, as the woman of *Abell* told *Ioab*, may appeare by these particular ensuing instances, where by the infatuated drowzy world may be awakened to take heed of that Storme that threatens them, and admonished, if it be not too late, that what they now read of others will in a short time be their own story, for if not timely prevented by assisting and inabling his power whom God and the Lawes have made their protector, they will find but his cruell favour in the Poet, to be devoured last.

One

One of their owne Prophets, in his Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his Sermon preached to the Houle of Commons at the *Fast, Iuly* 25. 1642. Tells them that God hath made them keepers of his Vineyard, (it seemes we are much mistaken who thought that God had laid this office on the King) well, having taken this for granted, he tells them, That nothing is wanting on their part: For you (saies he) have endeavoured to fence it with a setled *Militia*, To gather out Malignants as Stones, to plant it with men of Piety & Trust, as choice Vines, to build the Tower of a powerfull Ministery in the midst of it, and also to make a Wine-presse therein for the squeesing of Delinquents, the Parable is this, the wine-presse is their usurp'd *Militia*, the Sword of Warre Rebelliously wrested out of the Kings hands to whom God hath intrusted it, and turning the point on him that owes it: Their Tower of a Powerfull Ministery are Ignorant, Factious, Shismaticall Ministers, violently and contrary to all shew of Iustice, substituted in the Imployments and Revenues of Orthodox grave Divines, who are the Bellowes to blow up this fire that threatens the desolation of this Land: Or else those intruding Mechanicks, who without any Calling either from God or man, stepping from the Coblers Stall, the Butchers boord, or the Bricklayers Scaffold into the Pulpit, like *Shebahs* Trumpet summon the people to Rebellion: And lastly, the gathering out Malignants and squeesing Delinquents, is the Murthering and Plundering the Kings good and faithfull Subjects, who chuse to loose not only their goods, but their Lives too, rather then wound their Consciences with those two so damnable Crimes of Treason and Rebellion.

Iohn Arrow-Smith:

Now what worke this Wine-presse hath made, and with how sowre a Liquor it hath Runne, how they have squee-

sed

fed them whom they ſlander with the Nick-name of Malignants and Delinquents, ſhall, God willing, be made manifeſt in this enſuing Relation: In which we ſhall not ſtrictly tye Our ſelves to their Acts of Cruelty & Rapine alone, but take in alſo the violations of the Sepulchers of the dead, while like thoſe *Canes Sepulcrales*, their fury hath peirced into the Graves to diſturbe their aſhes and bones, whoſe Soules were at Reſt out of their reach long agoe, as likewiſe their Prophanations of Gods divine ſervice, and that their unheard of Sacriledges on his houſe and Portion: ſo that it will be hard to judge which are greater, either their Injuſtice towards the living, their Inhumanity towards the dead, or their Impiety towards God: In all which I ſhall promiſe in the ſight of God and Remembring that Lyers are in the number of thoſe againſt whom the gates of the new *Jeruſalem* ſhall be ſhut, to deale with all Candor and Ingenuity not out of a deſire to render them odious, abuſe the Reader either with falſehoods or uncertainties, but to report nothing but what hath been examined and atteſted by men of knowne truth and Integrity, and if any thing ſhall chance to paſſe which upon better Information ſhall appeare falſe, I ſhall not bluſh to Retract it by an Ingenuous acknowledgement: And that the World may ſee what violent aſſertions theſe men brought to theſe hoſtile Acts, I ſhall beginne with the times of Peace, when the King had no formidable Army to inflame their Iealouſies, nor theſe men provoked to Cruelty by any foregoing Injuries, The Scene is *Eſſex*, and the firſt man that ſhall be Tendered to your view is Sir *John Lucas*.

On

ON Monday *Aug.* 22. 1642. Sir *John Lucas* intended with ſome Horſe and Armes, to beginne his journey towards the North to wait upon the King, which purpoſe of his being on Saturday by a treacherous ſervant diſcovered to *Ioh. Langley* of *Colcheſter* Grocer, and Captaine of the Train Band; He, with *Henry Barrington* Brewer and Alderman of the Towne ſpent the next day being Sunday, in riding to *Coggeſhall*, *Booking*, *Bayntree*, *Halſteed*, and other Townes of their owne Faction, to communicate to them the knowledge of it, and invite them with ſtrong guards of muskets, to beſet the wayes and intercept him in his Iourney, and did alſo (by the aſſiſtance of the Major) ſet a guard of *Colcheſter* Traine-band, on Sunday night about his houſe. Sir *John Lucas* intended to beginne his Iourney early by one or two a clocke on Monday morning, ſuppoſing he might ſo paſſe with moſt privacy and no oppoſition, but the backe gate at which he thought to iſſue out was no ſooner opened, but a ſtrong guard from under a hedge preſent themſelves, and one of them diſcharg'd his muſket as a warning-peece to the Towne, where the Alarme is preſently taken, the Drum ſtrook up and the whole Towne raiſed, The Voluntiers (of which there were 400 or 500 then in Towne gathered to ſerve under the Earle of *Eſſex* and Ld *Say*) brought up the Beacon, by direction of *Dan: Cole* Alderman fired, and Horſemen into all parts ſent forth to call in the Country againſt the Cavaliers in Sir *John Lucas* houſe.

The houſe is preſently beſet with at leaſt 2000 people, and two peices of Ordinance are brought to make a Battery; at laſt they ruſhed into the houſe, & the firſt man they ſeize upon is Mr *Newcomin* Parſon of St *Trinity* Pariſh in *Colcheſter*, they teare his Clothes of his back, beat him with their Cudgells & Halberts, & with infinite exclamations, carry him in triumph through the cheif ſtreets of the Town; by the way entring into a wild but very ſerious conſideratiõ, not whether he ſhould dye (for that they had reſolved at firſt) but to what death to put him; one votes drowning, another ſtoning, another bids beat out his braines. At length having conſulted with Alderman *Cole*, they carry him to the common Gaole, commanding

the Iaylor to put him in the ſtrong hold (a place provided for the moſt deſperate Malefactors) affirming they would ſoon returne to take further order with him. There he remained till one a clocke, being then removed to another Chamber. They now returne to their fellowes who were ſearching Sir *John Lucas's* houſe, ſome twenty of them ruſht into the Ladies Chamber, laid hands upon her, ſet a ſword to her Breaſt, requiring her to tell where the Armes and Cavaleirs were. The Horſe and Armes are ſoon found and ſeized on by the Major, who ſends the Armes to the Towne-hall, the Horſe to an Inne to be there kept on Sr *John Lucas's* coſt, till they could be ſent to Parliament. The People lay hands on Sir *John Lucas* his Lady and Siſter, and carry them attended with ſwords, guns, and Halberts to the common Gaole. Laſt of all they bring forth his Mother with the like or greater inſolency, who being faint and breathleſſe, hardly obtained leave to reſt her ſelfe in a ſhop by the way, yet this leave was no ſooner obtained but the reſt of that rude rabble, threatned to pull downe the houſe unleſſe they thruſt her out, being by this meanes forced to depart from thence. A Countryman (whom the Alarme had ſummoned to this worke) eſpyes her, and preſſing with his Horſe through the Crowd, ſtrook at her head with his ſword ſo heartily, that if an Halbert had not croſſed the blow, both her ſorrowes and her journey had there found an end. Two Gentlewomen (one of which had long been ſicke) by flight eſcaped their fury, but their moſt well wiſhing Neighbors dared not to be knowen to receive them into their houſe, the people threatning to burne that houſe that gave them entertainment. Having ſecured the M^r they now beginne to plunder the houſe, all is prize that comes to hand, mony, plate, jewells, linnen, woollen, braſſe, pewter, &c. A few houres diſroabe the houſe of that Rich furniture that had adorned it many yeares. The Major and Aldermen ſtanding by all this while, but either not able or not willing to conjure downe the Divill which themſelves had raiſed up. All the ſervants they could meet with they bring to priſon, they lay hands on *John Browne* (one who had been a ſervant to the family from the time of Sir *Iob: Lucas's* Grandfather) they bind him to a Tree, ſet a muſket to his breaſt, and a ſword to his throat, and tye lighted matches betweene his fingers, and *Io: Farley* (a young pragmaticall boy) examines him concerning his Maſters Intentions, Horſes, Mony, &c. but eſpecially concerning Mr *Newcomen*,

whether

whether he had not given an oath of ſecrecy? whether he were not to Ride a great Horſe? whether he were not habited in a Buffe Ierkin and ſcarlet Coate, &c. Feare eaſily prompts the old man to anſwer what he thought would give content. Out of his examination the Major frames an information againſt Sir *John*, and Mr *Neve*: not forgetting to relate the good ſervice he had done, the Horſe and Armes he had taken, but withall implying how miſerably the houſe was plundered by the zealous people, adding in his Letters (and that very truly) That he could doe no more then a Child among them, with theſe Letters he preſently diſpatcheth a Poſt to the Houſe of Commons.

About one a Clock a new Alarme is raiſed, that 200 armed Horſemen are diſcovered in a Vault at Sr *John Lucas's*, that they had killed nine men already and were iſſuing forth to deſtroy the Towne, the ſhops are ſhut up in an inſtant, and the multitude throng downe thither to take or kill theſe Cavaliers. And becauſe they find none there, they now ſpend their rage upon the houſe, they batter down the doores and walls, beat downe the windowes, teare his evidences, deface his walkes and gardens, doe any thing that may doe miſchief. From thence they goe to his Parke, pull downe his pales, kill his Deere, drive away his Cattle: and to ſhew that their rage will know no bounds, and that nothing is ſo ſacred or venerable which they dare not to violate, they breake into Sr *Giles* his Church, open the vault where his Anceſtors were buryed, and with Piſtols, ſwords, and Halberts, transfix the Coffins of the dead.

And now the Majors care begins to ſhew it ſelfe, he ſets a guard upon the houſe that no hurt ſhould be done unto it, yet that guard ſuffered 100l worth of Corne (which at firſt was neglected as contemptible luggage) to be carried out, and the moſt of it, to their owne houſes. Another guard he ſets upon the Priſon, leaſt the Priſoners ſhould be aſſaulted by the people who were ſo much incenſed againſt them, though it had been fit to ſet ſome honeſt men to guard them from thoſe guardians, who were as forward as the People to drinke their blood.

On *Thurſday* comes downe Sir *Thomas Barrington* & Mr *Grimſton* as a Committee fro the houſe, who comming into the market-place before the priſon doore (the Towne Hall not able to receive the leaſt part of the multitude) there publiſhed two Orders from the houſe, one wherein Sir *John Lucas* and his adherents

were proclaimed guilty of high Treason for intending to assist the King. Another wherein thanks were given the People for the good service they had done, yet they were told withall, that their act of plundering was against the sense of the house, some of the agents in that work, produced a printed Order of Parliament (not heard of before among honest men) by which they justified what they had done; Sir *Thomas Barrington* replyed that it was a false and faigned order, contrived by the malignant party to render the house odious, and very lovingly besought the people to doe so no more, and indeed the next Weeks Diurnall tells us, that *upon occasion of the outragious plundering in Essex, it was ordered that thence forward none should Plunder but those that were authorized by the House to doe it.*

Friday was designed for the carrying up of the Traytors (Sir *John Lucas*, and *Newcomin*) for whom there was one Messenger come from the Black Rodde, and another from the Serjeant at Armes, (for the Ladyes were declared no prisoners after they had lyen in the Common-Goale fower dayes) when the time of their departure was come many thousand of people were gathered together (both of Towne and Country) a Drum being struck up to give them warning. The Coaches are come, and the prisoners called forth; only Mr *Newcomin* they dared not carry out as yet, because the people threatned to tear him in pieces, As assuredly they had done, had not Mr *Grimston's* care been very great, who placing a Court of Guard on each side of Sir *Thomas Barringtons* Coach from the Prison dore, brought him forth unexpectedly and put him into the Coach, the people then not daring to strike or stone him, least the mischief intended him should light on Sir *Thomas Barrington*.

The Coach being guarded thus a myle out of Towne, they passed on suffering no other strokes but those of the tongue (bitter Curses and revylings) and those they met withall abundantly, at *Chelmesford*, *Romford*, and in all the Townes whether the newes of their Treason had gone before them, Sir *John Lucas's* captive Horses being carryed in tryumph with the Coach all the way; at *London* Sir *Thomas Barrington* sent the Horses to the *Red Lyon*, the Prisoners to the Serjeant at Armes, where they remained all Sunday, not permitted to goe to Church with their Keeper, on Monday they were sent for to the House, & committed Sir *John Lucas* to the *Gate-house*, Mr *Newcomin* to the *Fleet*, Immediatly issued out a Declaration of both Houses

Houses to the whole Kingdom, but especially to the County of *Essex*, ordered to be read in all Churches and Chappells; wherein for the better encouragement of good People (to runne the words) it is told them that Sir *John Lucas's* Horse and Armes are imployed for the service of His Excellency, that *Sir John*, and M. *Newcomin* are committed to severall Prisons, and shall speedily be brought to their tryall, to receive condigne punishment according to their demerits.

Sir *John Lucas* was afterward enlarged giving 40000^{l} bayle to appeare upon summons, and not to depart *London* and the Suburbes without leave. M. *Newcomein* remained in the Fleet from *Aug.* 29, to *Sept.* 24, being never called for, and at length discharged.

Sir *William Boteler* of *Kent*, returning about the beginning of *April* 1642. from his attendance, (being then Gentleman Pentioner) on the King at Yorke, then celebrating St *Georges* feast, was by the earnest solicitation of the Gentry of Kent, ingaged to joyne with them in presenting the most honest and famous Petition of theirs to the House of Commons, delivered by Captain *Richard Lovelace*, for which service, the Captain was committed Prisoner to the *Gatehouse*, and Sir *William Boteler* to the *Fleet*, from whence after seven Weekes close Imprisonment, no Impeachment in all that time brought in against him, many Petitions being delivered & read in the House for his inlargement, he was at last upon bayle of 20000^{l} remitted to his house in London, to attend *de Die in Diem*, the pleasure of the House. And having thus danced attendance Sixe weekes more, at last he obtained leave for his healths sake, to goe to his own house in *Kent* called *Barhams Place* in *Teston*, and from thence, for recovery of his health much impayred by long Imprisonment, he visited the Welles neare *Tunbridge*, leaving with his servants both in *London* and in the Country a strict charge as of his House so to give him speedy information, if Serjeant *Hunt* should summon him to make his Appearance: while Sir *William Boteler* remained thus a Prisoner to the House, resolving to yeeld obedience according to the condition of his bond, 500. Horse and Dragoones under the command of Colonell *Edwine Sandes*, *Sir John Seaton*, and *Douglas*, accompanied by severall Gentlemen his Neighbours, as *Sir William Brookes*, *Sir Michaell Lucy*, M. *Richard Lea* Burgesse for *Rochester*, M. *Blunt* and others, on the 24. of *August*, be-

tween Eight and Nine of the clock at night, beset his house: The servants were within and the doors shut, only *William Nelson*, *Sir William's* Groom comming from the Stables pressed through the middest of them to the Hall doore, where *Sandes* and *Seaton* stood. They demand of him whether he belonged to *Sir William*, who answering that he did, Thou Rogue, sayes *Sandes*, open the doore, the poore Groome tryed but could not, but assured them that there should be no resistance made: and withall told them that his Master was at the Wells, but had left order to give them the best welcome the house could afford, and upon notice given would be ready (if they had such Order) to render himselfe up to the House of Commons, whose Prisoner he acknowledged himselfe to be: and withall offered that if they would have Patience but while he went to the back doore, the House should open unto them. This so reasonable an answer could not satisfy unreasonable men, who it seems were resolved to force the doore rather then have it opened, to give a peaceable admittance; Therefore they revile the Groome, call him Rogue and threaten to kill him, not because he would not, but because he could not give them entrance. And to make good their threats, *Sands* and *Seaton* commanded some of their Route to hold him up against his Masters Hall doore, and bad some twelve or more Dragooners to give fire on him, which was done accordingly, on the word given they that held him withdrew, not trusting to the undistinguishing bullet, and presently the Groom fell downe, by which means he escaped the fury of the shot, which took effect only on the doore and beat it downe: The entrance that was offered, thus forced, the house is instantly filled by the Commanders, the Gentlemen their abettors and the Souldiers, the first man they meet with is *Ben. Wiand*, *Sir William's* Steward, who being demanded by *Sandes* where his Master was, returned answere, the same in effect which before they received from the Groome: *Sandes* was as courteous to the Steward as to the Groome, calls him Rogue, and tells him that he would have his Master alive or dead, commands him to bring him to the Chamber where *Sir William* did lodge, their drawn swords and Muskets bent upon him extort obedience: being brought into the Bed-chamber, *Sandes* demands whether there were no private Outlet or Closet to lay all naked before him the Steward folds back the hangings, by which means the Colonell discovers a close-stoole, which at worst could not be so loathsome,

as he was before he died, This sight inraged him not only to revile the Steward calling him Rogue, but cruelly to beat him with his Pole-axe, and having thus prepared him, he commands him upon no lesse paine then the losse of his life, to reveale his Masters Plate and Mony, and to inforce the discovery from him, with drawn swords they prick him, and force him from one Roome to another, at last being come to the dyning chamber, Colonell *Sandes* causes a dozen of Candles to be lighted, and so to be held to and under the stewards hands, and lighted Match to be applyed between his fingers, for the space of a Quarter of an houre, *Sandes* himselfe all the while looking on, commanded both Candles and Match to be removed as often as either went out or burnt dull. In this Torment they continued the poore soule, untill both his hands were shamefully burnt, not being able to relieve himselfe by that discovery for which they Tortured him. Nor was their barbarous cruelty thus practised on the Steward only, from him they descend to the rest of the servants whom they pricke with their swords, beat with their Pole-axes to the indangering their lives, and all this to extort a Confession where their Masters mony and Plate were: but when this Inhumanity produced not the effect they looked for, they broke up every door, Plundered every Trunk & Chest, and examined every darke place from the Closet & Cabinet to the Powdering-Tub and Oven: Nay, the Seller escaped not their fury what they could not drinke either Wine or beare, they let out and poured upon the ground. In this search they found and carried away 500*l* in Mony & some store of Armes, And because the great adventures of valiant Knights must not be forgotten, To the Eternall fame of Sr *Will. Brookes* we are to tell you that whe the Ladies Closet was broken open, besides the Charitable provisions of *Medicinall Syrupes* and *Salves* for the poore and the needy Neighbors, all which were trampled under foot and spoyled, There were some hospitable provisions for Entertainments as diverse sorts of Preserves & other sweet meates, and in these this doughty Knight had his finger as deepe as any, except a common Souldier who being him feed greedily on a Gally-pote, and presuming his Judgement ever to be good in the Choyce, (for the Proverbe is true which ever you put formost *A liquorish tayle hath a liquorish tooth*) Rudely thrust his whole fist all begrimed and besmeared in blood and powder into the Pot with him, which as it turned his worships Stomack

macke for the time, so it may serve as a sure Prognostick, that if theis distractions goe on that where the Gentleman hath his finger, the Clowne will be sure to have his fist; but to leave him to his sweet-meates which perhaps may have sower sawce; and returne to the Colonell and his Plundering Regiment: being masters of the house, they plundered and pillaged, not only Sir *William Boteler*, but all his Servants, men and maides, not only their Chests, but their very pockets. Newes of this being brought to Sir *William Boteler* the next morning early by three of the Clocke and finding by their Threats, that his life was in danger, he resolved to flye for Protection to the King at *Nottingham*: In his way thither at *Pinkeny Mowlton* in *Northampton-shire* he was seized on by the Country people and by about 150 Horse conveyed first to *Northampton*, and from thence to *London*: About the beginning of *September* he was brought before the House of Commons, and there in a full House was examined twice: To whom he gave a full and cleare satisfaction in every particular: And being unimpeached the whole House utterly unable to accuse him of any the least kind of offence or Delinquency, Sir *Will: Boteler* did then and there in the Publique House make his Complaint of this Intollerable oppression and Injustice, Charging by Name before the House, Colonell *Edwine Sandes*, Sir *John Seaton*, Sir *Michaell Livesy*, Mr *Richard Lee* who then was present sitting in the House, and Sir *William Brookes* with Felony and Burglary: for breaking up his house in the night, and stealing and carrying away his Mony and goods: and implored the Justice of the House against them. And now behold their great zeale of Justice, their care of the Subjects Property, and the freedome of their persons from illegall Imprisonments, instead of harkening to his Just complaint and releiving him in his losses, to keep *Magna Charta* inviolable they Remand Sir *William Boteler* again Prisoner to the Gate-house where he remained for six months longer: at last being certainly informed, that it was really intended if not ordered by the House to send him to *Ipswich*, he indeavoured and effected an escape from the Gate-house, and is now in *Oxford* with the King ready to attest and make good every particular of this Relation, which is sufficient for this first week.

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THE SCOTS DECLARATION

To the

LORDS and COMMONS in PARLIAMENT.

In Answer to a Declaration sent unto them by their Commissioners now at *London*, from the honourable Houses of Parliament, expressing their care to prevent the Effusion of Christian blood, and their affections to a Reformation both to Kirke and State.

And do confidently expect, that ENGLAND will now bestir themselves in the best way for a Reformation of Religion; and doe most willingly offer their prayers and utmost endeavours for furthering so great a Worke, wherein Christ is so much concern'd in his glory, the King in His Honour, the Kirke and Kingdome of *England* in their happines, & this Kirke and Kingdom in the purity and peace of the Gospell.

And whatsoever shall be required by this Grave assembly, shall be most willingly performed by us.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, that this Declaration shall be forthwith Printed and published. Hen. Elsinge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

May 20. London Printed for R. B. 1643.

THE

SCOTS

DECLARATION

To the

LORDS and COMMONS

of PARLIAMENT.

The Scots Declaration, to the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

THe Generall Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, having received a Declaration, sent unto them by the Commissioners of this Kingdome now at *London*, from the Honourable Houses of Parliament of *England*, expressing their care to prevent the effusion of Christian blood in that Kingdome, and their affections to Reformation both in Church and State; And having taken the same into such consideration, as the importance of so weighty matters, and the high estimation they have of so wise and Honourable a meeting, as is the Parliament of *England*, did require, Have with universall consent, resolved upon this following Answer.

I. That the recent sense of the goodnesse of God, in their owne late deliverance, and from their earnest desires of all happinesse to our Native King, and that Kingdome. They blesse the Lord for preserving them in the midst of so many unhappy Divisions and Troubles, from a bloody Intestine War, which is from God the greatest judgement, and to such a Nation, the compend of all Calamities; They also give God thankes for their former and present desires of a Reformation, especially of Religion, which is the glory and strength of a Kingdome; and bringeth with it all Temporall blessings of Prosperity and Peace.

II. That the hearts of all the Members of this Assembly, and of all the well affected within this Kingdome are exceedingly greived, and made heavy, that in so long a time, against the professions both of King and Parliament, and contrary to the joynt desires and prayers of the godly in both Kingdomes, to whom it is more deare and precious then what is dearest to them in the world, the Reformation of Religion hath moved so slowly, and suffered so great interruption. They consider, that not onely Prelates, formall Professors, prophane and worldly men, and all that are popishly affected, are bad Counsellors and workers, and doe enable their power, and bend all their strength and policies against the Worke of God, but the god of this world also, with principalities and powers, the Rulers of the darknesse of this world, and spirituall wickednesse in high places are working with all their force and fraud in the same opposition, not without hope of successe; they having prevailed so

far from the beginning, that in the times of the best Kings of *Iudah* of old, and the most part of the Reformed Kirks of late, a thorow and perfect Reformation of Religion hath beene a Worke full of difficulties. Yet doe they conceive, that as it ought first of all to be intended, so should it be above all other things, with confidence in God, who is greater then the world, and he who is in the world, most seriously endevoured. And that when the Supreme Providence giveth opportunity of the accepted time and day of Salvation, no other worke can prosper in the hands of his servants, if it be not apprehended, and with all reverence and faithfulnesse improved. This Kirke and Nation when the Lord gave them the calling, considered not their own deadnesse, nor staggered at the promise through unbelief, but gave glory to God. And who knoweth (we speake it in humility and love, and from no other mind, then from a desire of the blessing of God upon our King and that Kingdome) but the Lord hath now some Controversie with *England*, which will not bee removed, till first, and before all, the Worship of his Name, and the Government of his House be setled according to his owne will. When this desire shal come, it shal be to *England*, after so long deferred hopes, a Tree of Life, which shall not onely yeeld Temporall blessings unto themselves, but also shall spread the branches so far, that both this Nation, and other Reformed Kirks shall find the fruits thereof to their greater satisfaction.

III. The Commissioners of this Kingdome in the late Treaty of Peace, considering that Religion is not onely the Mean of the Service of God, and saving of Soules, but is also the Base and Foundation of Kingdomes and Estates, and the strongest Band to tye Subjects to their Prince in true Loyalty, and to knit the hearts of one to another in true Unity and Love. They did, with Preface of all due Respects and Reverence, farre from Arrogance or Presumption, represent, in Name of this Kingdome, their serious thoughts, and earnest desires for Unity of Religion; That in all His Majesties Dominions there might be one Confession of Faith, one Directory of Worship, one publike Catechisme, and one Forme of Kirk-Government: This they conceived to be acceptable to God Almighty, who delighteth to see his people walking in truth and Unity. To bee a speciall meanes for conserving of Peace betwixt the Kingdomes; Of easing the Kings Majesty and the publike Government of much trouble which ariseth from differences of Religion, very grievous to Kings and Estates; Of great content to the King Himselfe, to His Nobles, His Court, and all His people, when—occasioned to be abroad, without scruple to themselves, or scandall to others, all may resort to the same publike Worship, as they were at their owne dwellings; Of suppressing

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the names of Hereſies and Sects, Puritans, Conformiſts, Separatiſts, Anabaptiſts, &c. which doe rend asunder the Bowels both of Kirk and Kingdome; Of deſpaire of ſucceſſe to Papiſts and Recuſants to have their Profeſſion, which is inconſiſtent with the true Proteſtant Religion, and Authority of Princes, ſet up againe; And of drawing the hearts and hands of Miniſters from unpleaſant and unprofitable Controverſies, to the preſſing of Mortification, and to Treaſures of true Piety, and practicall Divinity. The Aſſembly doth now enter upon the labour of the Commiſſioners, unto which they are encouraged, not onely by their faithfulneſſe in the late Treaty, but alſo by the Zeale and Example of the Generall Aſſemblies of this Kirke in former times, as may appeare by the Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, *December* 25. in the yeare 1566. which ordained a Letter to be ſent into *England* againſt the Surplice, Tippet, Corner-Cap, and ſuch other Ceremonies as then troubled that Kirke, that they might be removed. By the Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, *April* 24. 1583. humbly deſiring the Kings Majeſty to command His Ambaſſadors then going into *England*, to deale with the Queene, that there might bee an Union and Band betwixt them and other Chriſtian Princes & Realms, profeſſing the true Religion, for defence and protection of the Word of God, and Profeſſors thereof, againſt the perſecution of Papiſts and confederates, joyned and knit together by the bloody League of *Trent*: As alſo, That Her Majeſty would diſburden their Brethren of *England* of the yoke of Ceremonies impoſed upon them againſt the liberty of the Word. And by the Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, *March*, 3 1589. ordaining the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* to uſe all good and poſſible meanes for the reliefe and comfort of the Kirk of *England*, then heavily troubled for maintaining the true Diſcipline and Government of the Kirk: And that the brethren in their private and publike prayers recommend the State of the afflicted Kirk of *England* to God. While now by the mercy of God, the conjunction of the two Kingdoms is many wayes encreaſed, the zeale of the Generall Aſſembly towards their happineſſe ought to be no leſſe. But beſides theſe, the Aſſembly is much encouraged unto this duty, both from the Kings Majeſty and His Parliament joyntly, in their Anſwer to the Propoſition made by the late Commiſſioners of the Treaty, in theſe words: *To their deſire concerning Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk-Government as a ſpeciall meanes for conſervation of Peace betwixt the two Kingdomes, upon the grounds and aſſurances contained in the Paper of the* 10 *of March, and given in to the Treaty and Parliament of England. It is anſwered upon the* 15. *of June, That His Majeſty, with the advice of both Houſes of Parliament, doth approve of the affection of his ſubjects of Scotland, in their deſire of having Conformity of Kirk-Government betweene the two Nations; And as the Parliament*

ament hath already taken into consideration the Reformation of Kirk, government, so they will proceed therein in due time, as shall best conduce to the glory of God, the Peace of the Kirk, and of both the Kingdomes. And also severally; for his Majesty knoweth that the custody and vindication, the conservation and purgation of Religion, are a great part of the duty of Civill authority & power. His Majesties late practise, while he was here in person, in resorting frequently to the exercises of publike Worship, His Royall actions in establishing the worship and Government of this Kirk in Parliament, and in giving order for a competent maintenance to the Ministery & Seminaries of the Kirk; and his Majesties gracious Letter to the Assembly (seconded by the Speech of His Majesties Commissioner) which containeth this Religious Expression; *Where any thing is amisse, We will endeavour, in a faire and orderly way, a Reformation; and where Reformation is seiled, We resolve, with that authority wherewith God hath visited Us, To maintaine and defend it, in Peace and liberty, against all trouble that can come from without, and against all heresies, sects, and schismes which may arise from within.* All these do make us hopefull that His Maj. will not oppose, but advance the work of Reformation. In like manner the Honourable Houses of Parliament, as they have many times before witnessed their Zeale, so now also in their Declaration sent to the Assembly, which not onely sheweth the constancy of their Zeale, but their great griefe that the worke hath beene interrupted by a Malignant party of papists, and evill affected persons, especially of the corrupt and dissolute Clergy, by the incitement and instigation of Bishops and others. Their hopes, according to their earnest desire, when they shall returne to a peaceable and Parliamentary proceeding, by the blessing of God, to settle such a Reformation in the Church as shall be agreeable to Gods Word; And that the result shall be a most firm & stable Union betweene the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, &c. The Assembly also is not a little encouraged by a Letter sent from many Reverend Brethren of the Kirk of *England*, expressing their prayers & endeavours against every thing which shall be found prejudiciall to the establishment of the Kingdome of Christ, and the peace of their Soveraigne. Upon these encouragements, and having so notable a doore of hope, the Assembly doth constantly expect, that *England* will now bestir themselves in the best way for a Reformation of Religion, and doe most willingly offer their prayers and utmost endeavours for furthering so great a worke, wherein Christ is so much concerned in his glory, the King in his Honour, the Kirk and Kingdom of *England* in their happinesse, and this Kirk and Kingdome in the purity and peace of the Gospell.

IV. That the Assembly also from so many reall invitations are heartned to renew the proposition made by the aforenamed Commissioners of this

Kirk

Kingdom for beginning the work of Reformation, & the Uniformity of Kirk-Government: For what hope can there be of Vnity in Religion, one confession of Faith, one forme of Worship, and one Catechisme, till there be first one Form of Ecclesiasticall Government? Yea, what hope can the Kingdome and Kirk of Scotland have of a firm and durable peace, till Prelacy, which hath bin the main cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, be pluckt up root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted, and from which no better fruits can be expected, then such sowre grapes, as this day set on edge the teeth of the Kingdome of England?

V. The Prelatical Hierarchy being put out of the way, the work will be easie, without forcing any conscience, to settle in England the Government of the reformed Kirks by Assemblies; for although the reformed Kirks do hold without doubting their Kirk-Officers, and Kirk-Government by Assemblies highes and lower, in their strong and beautifull subordination to be jure divino, and perpetual; yet prelacy, as it differeth from the Office of a Pastor, is almost universally acknowledged by the Prelats themselves, and their adherents, to be but an humane Ordinance, introduced by humane reason, and settled by humane Lawes & Customs, for supposed conveniency; which therefore by humane authority, without wronging any mans conscience, may be altered and abolished, upon so great a necessity as is a hearty Conjunction with all the reformed Kirkes, a firm and well-grounded Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms, formerly divided in themselves, and betwixt themselves, by this partition-wall: and a perfect Vnion of the two Kirks in the two Nations, which although by the providence of God in one Island, and under one Monarch, yet ever since the Reformation, and for the present also, are at great difference in the point of Kirk-Government, which in all places hath a powerfull influence upon all the parts of Religion, than any other reformed Kirks, although in Nations at greatest distance, and under divers Princes.

VI. What may be required of the Kirk of Scotland for the furthering the work of Vniformity of Governments, or for agreeing upon a common confession of Faith, Catechism, and Directory for Worship, shall according to the order given by this Assembly, be most willingly performed by us, who long extreamely for the day, when King and Parliament shall joyn for bringing to passe so great, so good a work: That all Warrs and commotions ceasing, all Superstition, Idolatry, Heresies, Sects and Schisms being removed; As the Lord is one, so his Name may be one amongst us; And Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace meeting together and kissing one another, may dwell in this Island.

Johnston Cler. Eccl.

The

THE Lords of the Secret Councell having read, heard, and considered this Petition this day given in to the, in the name of the late Generall assembly holden at S. *Andrews*, by their Commissioners appointed for that effect, desiring the Councel to concur with them in their Remonstrance to the Parliament of *England*, toward the setling of Unity in Religion and Uniformity in Kirk-Government in His Majesties three Kingdoms. And having also heard the Petition directed from the Assembly to His Majesty, with their Answer to the Parliament of *England*, the Scots Commissioners of the Treaty at *London*, and certain Ministers of *England*, concerning this matter: And finding the reasons therein expressed to be very pertinent, and the particulars desired much to conduce for the glory of God, the advancement of the true Christian Faith, His Majesties Honour, and the Peace and union of His Dominions: The said Lords, out of their duty to the furtherance of so much wished and important a work, and affection to their brethern of the Kingdome of *England*, do unanimously and heartily concur with the said Nationall Assembly, in their earnest desires to the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to take to their serious consideration the particulars aforesaid, touching Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Kirk-Government in the said three Kingdoms, as singular mean of His Majesties Honour, the good of the true Christian Faith, and happinesse of His Majesties Dominions: and to give favourable hearing to such desires and overtures as shall be found most conducible for the promoting of so great and good a Work.

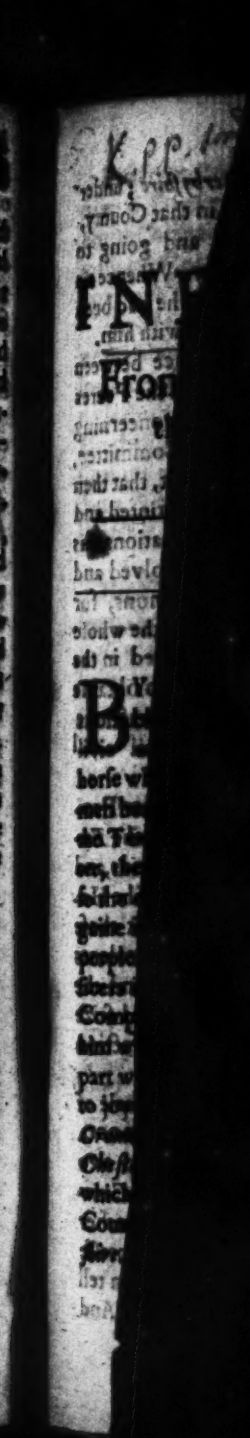
Extractum de libris actorum secreti Concilii S. D. N. Regis, per me,

Arcus Primrose, Cler. S. Conc.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons, That this be forthwith printed and published.

H. Elsynge. Cler. Parl. D. Com.

FINIS.



Numb. 18.

CERTAINE INFORMATIONS

From severall parts of the Kingdome, for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 15. of *May*, to the 22. of *May*. 1643.

Munday, May, 15.

BY Letters from *Derby* we are Informed, that they have bin in much trouble there, because some of the Earle of *Newcastles* forces approached within a mile of their owne, who were discovered by some of the Townes horse which had bin abroad, and were retiring home: whereupon the Townesmen took to Armes, and stood to their Armes, and marched out to the side of the Town to keep the Enemie off, between whom there was a small Encounter, the Enemie lost sixe of their men, and the Townesmen foure of theirs, and so drew them to retire and marched away, and the Townesmen retired againe into their Towne: and they further write, that they have beene much perplexed in the Towne, Because there was a rumor, that some of their Officers intended to betray them, and that Captaine *Sanders* marched with his Company from thence to *Burton* upon *Trent*, where the Inhabitants received him with great joy, and they love him so well, that they will not willingly part with him. That they sent two of their *Derby* Companies to *Nottingham* to joyne with the forces there in a body. That they daylie expect Colonell *Cromwell* and other forces, but as yet they are not come to them, and that *Chesterfield* was strangely forsaken by their souldiers and Inhabitants, since which, that Towne is pillaged by the enemies that lay at *Bolsover* in that County, and at *Wollaton* a House of the Earle of *Newcastles* in *Nottinghamshire*, and that Captaine *Millard* who made shew of standing for the King and

and Parliament, and had sued to be a Colonell in *Derbyshire*; under which pretence he had inveigled many well affected People in that County, hath since fully discovered his trechery, by leaving them and going to *Chesterfield*, where he is now selling the Commission of Array. Whence is apparant what mischefe he would have done in that County, if he had been made a Colonell, and gotten a Regiment of souldiers to comply with him.

About the later end of the last weeke, there was a Conference between both the Houses of Parliament, wherein the Commons requested the Peeres to passe the Declaration, which they lately presented unto them, concerning the late Treaty at *Oxford*, between the King and the Parliaments Committee, which if their Lordships thought not fit to passe by Munday next, that then the House of Commons would give Order, that it should be printed and published; which Request the noble Peeres took into their consideration this day, and upon solemne debate of the said Declaration, they resolved and Voted, their concurrences with the Honourable House of Commons, for the Printing and publishing of the said Declaration, whereby the whole Kingdome may understand, the truth of all the Passages that occurred in the said Treaty, and manifest what the Parliament hath sincerely done, to obtaine a Pacification and Reconciliation of the present differences and distractions that have imbroiled the whole *English* Nation in this unnaturall civil warre.

And whereas some *Scottish* men that had carried victualls and other Provisions into *Ireland*, for the Reliefe, as well of their owne Nation, as the *English* there, for which there is due unto them about 30. or 40000 pounds, and had sued to the Parliament for the reimbursment of their moneys: The Honourable House of Commons desired also the Noble Lords, that those *Scottish* men might have satisfaction out of the Estates of the Malevolents and Papists, in the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and that they might be permitted to come and seize upon those Estates and to retume them, untill they had received satisfaction for their debts.

From *Exceter* and *Plymouth* in *Devonshire* they write, that the Earle of *Stamford* is marched out of their County into *Cornwall*, with 8. or 9000. foote and 1500. horse, and that he intendeth to divide his army into two bodies, whereof the one part is to besiege the Towne of *Launciston* in *Cornwall*, which the Cavaliers had fortified for their shelter, and with the other part to pursue Sir *Ralph Hopson* and his Cavaliers, either totally to suppresse and apprehend them, or else to drive them out of *Cornwall*, if they can tell whither to fly and to escape his hands.

And

And from *Plymouth* more particularly they write, that a ſhip of theirs hath taken a *Dunkerke* Frigot, which was going to *Ireland*, and is laden with Armes, Carbines, Piſtols, Gunpowder, Wines, Crucifixes, and ſuch like traſh, and ſome Ordinance, whereof one peece was 400. weight, which Frigot the ſeizer hath brought ſafe into *Plimouth*.

The Honourable Houſe of Commons, having ſpent ſome time the laſt weeke, about a debate of having a *New Great Seale*, which they much want for the Sealing of Writs for an Election of new Burgeſſes, in the places of thoſe that either have died, bin put out, or wilfully diſſerted their houſe; & this day they falling into a ſolemne debate thereof, after many Arguments and Reaſons alleadged *pro & con*, they at length reſolved by the Major Vote, that a *New Great Seale* ſhould be made, 86. Votes were for it, and 74. Votes againſt it.

Tueſday, May. 16.

His Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall, hath received a Letter from the Right Honourable, the Lord *Willoghby* of *Parham*, Colonell *Cromwell*, and Captaine *Hatham*, wherein they informe, that they with all their forces, marched from *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*, to *Newarke* upon *Trent*, and faced that towne three whole houres, expecting that the Cavaleers would have iſſued out and joyned battell with them; but having waited ſo long to no purpoſe, they retyred againe to *Grantham*, let up their horſes, and put off their armes, and that about ten of the clock the ſame night, two and twenty Troopes of the *Newarke* Cavaleers came to their Quarter, to give them a Camiſado, and fell upon ſome two or three of their Troopes of horſe, that were Quartered without the Towne to keepe the Watch, whereof they ſlew twelve, and tooke ſome of them priſoners, whereby the alarme being, the aforeſaid Commanders armed themſelves and their men, and with twelve Troopes of horſe iſſued out of the towne upon them, fought with them, killed forty, and tooke ſome of them priſoners, drove the reſt of them backe againe, and purſued them two or three miles, and ſafely retreated into the towne againe; where being arrived, they miſſed Captaine *Wray*, one of their valiant Commanders, who is a Gentleman by them much valued and reſpected, whereupon one of the Captaines demaunded who would ride out to ſeeke and reſcue him? at which queſtion, twenty ſix reſolute men offered to adventure themſelves, and ſo they rode out, and upon the way meeting with a man, they asked him, whether he had ſeene any Troopes of horſe and priſoners amongſt them? who told them, that at the next towne, named *Longſutton*, there were ſome, and comming thither, they found two or three of their ene-

nies Troopes; most desperately set upon them, killed some, and took some of them prisoners, and put the residue to flight: but to their great griefe they found not Captaine *Wray*, for whom they had so resolutely adventured themselves, and so they were faine to returne to *Grantham* againe without him. And since it is onely reported, that the aforesaid three Commanders, with all the forces they can make, are gone to *Newarke* againe, the truth whereof will more certainely appeare, by the next Letters from those parts.

From *Bristoll* they write, that Sir *William Waller* is come thither, and hath brought along with him all the rich prisoners which hee lately tooke in the City and County of *Hereford*, whom he intendeth to send from thence by Sea to *London*. And that many of their late Conspirators are sentenced to be hanged, & some of them, as the two *Yeomans*, *Butcher* and *Daeres*, were to be executed this day, for contriving to Massacre the innocent men, women and children in that City.

And they also write from thence, that Sir *Edward Hungerford*, and Colonell *Strode*, have taken *Warder* Castle in *Wiltshire*, which they had besieged, where they have found great wealth in Plate and Money, which all the Nobility and Gentry in those parts had brought thither for safegard, amongst which, all the Lord *Cottingtons* estate in money as the chiefe, and that they have also taken some prisoners of quality there, whereof some Ladies and Gentlewomen are now sent up to *London*.

Westminster, May 17.

Yesterday the Honourable House of Commons sate close upon an Vnite, which is a rate they will impose upon all manner of Merchandizes, goods, and commodities, either to be imported or exported out of the Kingdome, and they imposed two shillings upon every pound of Tobacco, two pence upon every quart of *Spanish* wines, and one penny upon every quart of *French* wines, upon a Barrell of strong Beere two shillings, and upon a Barrell of small Beere six pence. And this day they imposed rates upon Gold and Silver-Lace, and upon Linnen Cloth, and after this manner they intend to proceed upon all other Wares, to the intent that they may raise a constant and constant supply for the maintenance of their Armies, onely so long as these civill Warres continue, which God grant may be speedily ended, so as the true Reformed Protestant Religion, the Priviledges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Kings legall and just Prerogative, together with His safety, may be firmely established.

From

From *Manchester* in *Lancashire* they write, that Colonell *Assh* with about 3000. men, went from thence to *Lancaster*, to fetch away the brasse Ordnance, that were kept in the Castle, and leaving onely five there for the defence and guard of the Castle, he brought the rest to *Bolton*, where he left eight for the defence of that Towne, and the other sixe hath brought safe into *Manchester*; and they further say, that since the Earle of *Derby* is fled out of their County to *York*, they live very quietly there and so should still, if he come not againe to disturbe and disquiet them.

Out of *Northamptonshire* it is informed, that some of the Kings forces have lately done much spoile in that County in pillaging it, and that they tooke a 1000. Horses between *Haverbor* and *Daventre*, and also that some of them cunningly faced *Northampton* Towne, while others of their partie pillaged the Country round about it, and that those facers came so neere the Towne, that seventeene of them were slaine by a great shot from thence.

Thursday May 18.

From *Paris*, *Abeville*, *Amiens*, *Calais*, and other Townes in *France*, by Letters it is informed, that the *French* have lately had a notable Victory against the *Spaniard*; that *Don Francisco de Melos* the *Spanish* Generall, matched out of *Flanders* with 25000. men, and 22. peeces of Cannon, to a little Towne named *Rocroi* upon the Frontier of *Champayne*, neere *Landresy*, which Towne he besieged and battered foure daies, hoping to carry it before the *French* Army could come to relieve it. At the end of the foure daies the *French* Army consisting of 21000. men came thither, at which time a great Convoy of Victuals guarded with 5000. men, came to the *Spaniard*; whereupon the *Spanish* Generall raised his Siege, thinking to inclose the *French* between his Army and the Convoy, so they fell to the combate, where the *French* obtained the Victory, and killed betweeh 6. and 7000. of their enemies upon the place, tooke 4000. of them Prisoners, together with their 22. peeces of Cannon, all their Baggage, and three waggons Laden with money. This fight was upon Tuesday the 9 of this instant May, where the *French* lost 1000 men, and had 4000. wounded, the residue of their enemies saved themselves in the woods adjoyning. The *Spanish* Generall is thought to be slain, the Count of *Fontaine* is Prisoner, together with many other Commanders and persons of quality, the Duke of *Chatillon* the *French* Generall is hurt in the thigh with a Pike, *Monsieur de Praile* was hurt in the arme with a Pistoll. The *Switzers* on the *French* side behaved themselves Valiantly with their two handed Swords, the fight continued eight whole houres, and the *Spanish* Army was utterly defeated and routed.

Many Rumors and Reports have lately gone about, concerning the disaffection of the Towne of *Lyn* in *Norfolke* to the King and Parliament, and that it was seized on by the Malevolents of that County, for which we can say thus much, that there are few places in *England*, but some in them are tainted with disaffection, either through ignorance, wilfulnesse, ambition or covetousnesse; the ignorant if they were better instructed, might have their understandings opened, the wilfull can hardly be reclaimed, because their hearts are hardned; ambition and covetousnesse is onely nulled by too much selfe love; yet if we observe, these are all continually thwarted in their designes, by Gods overruling power, who giveth the well-affected the prevalency, which he hath done at *Lyn*, where they remaine now in their obedience to the King and Parliament.

Friday May 19.

Yesterday in the Evening his Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall departed from hence towards *Reading*, being requested by the Lords and Commons, to advance with all speed, and for the better encouragement of his Army, they sent 25000. pounds after him this morning to pay them. And both the Houses have concurred in a Vote and Order, that all the Lord *Capells* estate and Rents shall be sequestred, and that the sequestrators shall pay them to his Excellency, in recompense of his Estate which is taken from him by the Cavaliers in *Staffordshire*.

The Honourable House of Commons having received Information, that some of the Kings Forces had most barbarously burnt *Swanborn* in *Buckinghamshire*, and committed a most inhumane outrage there in killing a woman great with child, onely because she kept her doores fast against them, Voted that Declarations should be sent into all Counties in *England*, to require them to rise as one man, for the defence of themselves, their wives, Children, goods and Estates, and not to suffer their Countries to be so harassed and pillaged by the immane Cavaliers, contrary to all the Lawes of God, nature, and of this Kingdome.

The Lord *Inchequin*, President of the *Province* of *Munster* in the South part of *Ireland*, hath lately sent a Letter to the Parliament, which was written from *Oxford*, by the Lord *Taffe*, and the Lord *Dillon*, two Popish *Irish* Rebells, which are our Commanders in the Kings Army here, wherein, as it is said, they give thankes, in the Kings Name to the Rebells in *Ireland*, for the good service they have done him, wishing them to go on, and expedite their busines there, for which though they cannot be recompenced now, yet hereafter they shall not be forgoten, or much to this purpose; which

Letter

Letter being read in the Honourable House of Commons, they passed a Vote, that all Papists whatsoever, and all others that now are up in armes against the Parliament, are Traitors by the Law of the Land, and shall have their estates sequestred for the present benefit of the Kingdome.

Saturday, May 20.

From *Cambridge* they write, that some Malevolents at *Ely*, had lately made some combustions in that City, and their insolency proceeded to that height, that they seized upon the two peeces of Ordnance which were placed there for the defence of that City: which tydings being brought to *Cambridge*, they presently armed and sent out thither two Companies, to reduce them to obedience, at whose arrivall, those incendiaries withdrew their atempts, cried *Peccavi*, and submitted themselves to reason and quiet againe.

Sir *George Benyons* house in *Cheapside* hath been lately searched, where was found incloſed in a Bricke wall, many rich Commodities to the value of fifteene hundred pound, the said Sir *George* being now at *Oxford*, and doing service there against the Parliament. By a strange accident also, many of Sir *Peter Ricaults* Bils and Bonds, which he left here, since his flight beyond the Seas, are found out, to the value of ten thousand pound and better, which being due, will be received for the good of the Common-wealth.

From *Leceſter* they write, that the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, their Commander in chiefe, hath lately been sicke, but

but is now newly recovered, and that the Kings forces marched through that County, and have done much hurt by pillaging the Countrey men of their horses, and other goods, that they went by *Leicester* with many carriages, the most of them being laden with Pillaged goods, as they are informed from their Rendezvous, by one that stood by and saw them unladen, and that many of the Kings forces are returned backe againe toward *Newarke*, and in their returne they faced the Towne of *Northampton*, while some of their fellows plundered and pillaged the Countrey thereabours, where some of them were slaine and taken prisoners.

The *Scottish* Commissioners that departed lately from *Oxford*, are now returned into *Scotland*, and have fully and truly declared the ill usage they received at *Oxford*, from the Souldiers and Inhabitants, together with the negative Answer to their Petition, whereupon an Assembly of all the States is appointed to meet upon the 21 of *June* next.



Numb. 4.

SPECIALL PASSAGES

And certain Informations from severall places, Collected for the use of all that desire to be truely informed.

From Tuesday the 16. of May, to Tuesday the 23. of May. 1643.

One thing (concerning these weekly Passages) is thought fitherto to be premised, viz. that whereas from all parts of the Kingdom (wherein any act of hostility hath been) severall Informations are sent, as well to the Parliament at London, as of those (among them) that seeme most credible, are these collected Passages weekly composed: the Reader may therefore please to consider, that (notwithstanding great care is taken to exclude untruths) it is impossible but in some weeks, some of those many Relations, may, in some particulars faile; especially being (as usually they are) the soonest and earliest of any report that comes; the consideration whereof, may (happily) render the Reader more judicious, lesse censorious.

From Northampton-shire, and the parts adjacent, is informed to this effect; viz. that that part of the Country which went with the Association from Newark to Oxford, for want of pay, had licence and liberty to plunder, both backwards and forwards, which (with) great rigour was performed: that in the expedition they have done (by the testimony of sufficient witnesses) little lesse than fifteen hundred pounds worth of hurt; without the least resistance where ever they came.

Many of these gentlemen that were prisoners in Banbury, are lately escaped, and got away, little lesse than forty in one night, (their keepers (as was informed) being then drunke; and these prisoners have reveal'd such inhumane cruelties of the Cavaliers

as would make even a Souldiers heart to tremble, one for example, (to omit many others) they promiſed Quarter to them that would lay downe their Armes, which being done, they ſo cruelly handled them that to ſome, they gave ſix wounds, to others ſeven or eight, nay to ſome of them ten or twelve; but thoſe that would not lay downe their Armes, they hurt not.

One Maſter *Pargiter* came as an Herald from the Earle of *Northampton*, to require the ſurrender of *Northampton* to him: promiſing them faire Quarter, and the Countreys preſervation from hurt (a good promiſe if any could performe it) but the Governours of that Towne returned this Anſwer, That if the ſaid Gentleman could obtaine from both Houſes of Parliament an Ordinance that he might be Governour of the place, they would deliver it up unto him: The Earle then not having the Towne for asking, comes himſelfe with a conſiderable power againſt it, but not within the power of Musket-ſhot (for though they feare not our horſe, yet are they terribly affrai'd of our Muskets) the Towne gave them a great ſhot or two, which met with ſome of them: Whereupon the Earle began a retreat, and being farre enough out of danger, fell to plundering; meane while our horſe ſallie out, and meeting with foureteene or fifteene ſtragling droanes of the enemies, bring them into the Towne with triumph. But the Earle went on with his Plunder at Sir *Richard Samwells*, and other places, gathering up that which the *Newarke* vermine left him.

Another partie under the Lord *Clevelland*, the Lord *Crafford*, and others, take their way into *Buckingham-ſhire*, Plundering and burning as farre as *Bedford-ſhire*, ſcarce leaving a horſe behinde them; and meeting with ſome oppoſition at *Swanſford* (much they could not make) ſet fire on the Towne in ſeveh places, not ſuffering the Inhabitants ſo much as to endeavour the quenching of it, not ſave their goods from the mercileſſe fire.

From *Oxford* they write, that his Majeſtie hath ſent away moſt of his Forces from thence, leaving not above ſix thouſand behind, two thouſand whereof are to be kept in the Towne, and the other foure thouſand incamped about three miles from *Oxford*, towards *Abington*; there to expect the approaching of the Parliaments Forces.

The Houſe of Commons have Voted, that all Papiſts that have been in actuall warre againſt the Parliament, be proceeded againſt, as Traytors and profeſt enemies to the State and Kingdome, and their Eſtates to be ſequeſtred. And pittie it is they have been ſo long forgotten; being ever (as their Religion tyes them) conſtant, politick, diligent, and dangerous traytors to the Kingdome, and true Proteſtant Religion. What volume of Statutes have we againſt them, and how few have met with them? The *Swedes* have one Law againſt Papiſts, worth the noting, *viz.* That if any Papiſt dyes, the next of his kindred that is a Proteſtant, ſhall enjoy the totall of his eſtate) but not to digreſſe any further; The Lords have concurr'd in the buſineſſe, but tis not agreed, that the Queen ſhall be included, though a great perſon ſaid, he conceived her to be the chiefe Agent therein.

At *Oxford* the Soldiers expect money, which they were told ſhould come from the Queene, when the expected Convoy came with it, but that was ſo long expected, and ſo certainly miſſed; that now they are licenced and let out to plunder the Countreys, that ſo they may be well horſt, well clothed and well fed, with money in their purſes, againſt my Lord Generalls advance from *Reading*.

Sir *William Waller* is come from *Glouceſter*, he waites for ſupplies, and the motion of my Lord Generall: its beleeved, he will be very formidable ſuddenly, for Sir *Walter Earle*, who hath diſarmed all *Dorſet-ſhire*, is comming to him with a Regiment, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, who hath diſarmed all *Wilt-ſhire*, and is comming with other Regiments; and other Regiments out of *Summerſet-ſhire* are likewiſe comming; beſides his ſupplyes from *London*. The Lord of *Hertford* is gone with about three thouſand to the Weſt, to impede the conjunction of theſe forces, what the effect will be time will ſhow.

The Lord *Capell* hath been ſo venturous as to goe as farre as *Nantwich*, againſt Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *William* after a little Skirmiſh, retreated into *Nantwich*, but taking courage went out againe againſt him, which the Lord *Capell* perceiving, retreated, and Sir *William* purſued him, but tis not certaine whether any were killed or hurt.

The Kings Majestie having denied the Lords a Parliament, they resolve to conveene the three Estates by their own Authoritie, and will be to meete about the first of *July*.

The Commons on Friday transmitted their Votes about the Great Seale to the Lords, desiring that that businesse may be speeded, it being of such concernment for the Subjects (both for their titles and for the Courts of Justice in their proceedings). The Lord of *Essex* moved the Lords to speed that the day he tooke his leave, saying, when Complaint was that a Seale was wanting for the probate of Wills, that there was a great Seale also wanting, that he hoped their Lordships would [illegible].

From Stafford.

It is (as well by Letters as otherwise) certainly informed from *Stafford*, that his Majesties forces there, would not onely bring that whole Countie in subjection to them, and to that end speedily put the Commission of Array in execution, warning all in generall, to make their appearance on such a heath not far distant, (having before disarmed most of them, deptived them of all things that had put the shew of a weapon) which designe being made knowne to a worthy Gentleman, (who was then Commander in chiefe of a Towne not farre distant) who presently sent to Sir *William Brereton* for some assistance, to prevent the enemies approaches, which when Sir *William* understood, (formerly knowing the good service and fidelitie of that Gentleman) sends him some few Cuiraciers and Dragooners, which he joyned to his owne strength, and so approach the place appointed for the meeting of the contrary parties; and upon that heath made the best shew and outside of an Army, that so small a strength could doe; so that when the other were comming to make their appearance, they discovered an Army on the heath before them, and presently ran backe, not daring to goe on any further; In so much, that this valiant little Army, were much incouraged in their enterprise; and one trusty and very faithfull Commander (among the rest) desired that they might attempt to take the Towne; which Sir *William Brereton* consented to; so they marched next night with their Carriages, and

what

what they had, toward *Stafford*, comming thither between two and three a cloche in the morning; then this worthy Commander with fifte or three-score men, undertooke to scale the walls at one end of the Citie, and so to open a gate at the other end, where was Sir *William* and the rest of the body; and according to his purpose, performed it suddenly, none in the Towne being up, excepting the Sentinells, and some few, which they quickly dispatcht, so they were all in the midst of the Towne before they met with any opposition; then on a sudden, Drums struck up, many swords drawne, and some Muskets discharged, yet they lost but one man, but tooke two hundred horse, three hundred prisoners, two peices of Ordnance, and many Gentlemen of qualitie.

From Lincolne the 25. of July.

After our Colonells Troope had joyned with my Lod *Willoughbie* and Captaine *Hotham* at *Sleeford*, we marched to *Granthem*, being in all about fifteene Troopes of Horse and Dragooneers, where we quartered in the Towne neere adjoyning, and rested one day; and the next day we gave the enemy an Alarum to *Newarke*, and so returned to our Quarter; in the meane time, divers Troopes of the enemies, as we are informed) marched from *Gainsbrough*, and joyning with *Newarke* forces, were twenty-three Colours, Horse and Dragooneers, and two troops with our Colours; These secretly marching through by-wayes, and low passages, suddenly surprized some few of my Lords horse, and preferably gave us the Alarum at *Granthem*; we made hast to horse; the enemy being within lesse then two miles of us, and drew forth into the field eleven Troops, some few Dragooneers, and many of the Troops were very weake, and marching a mille from our Quarter, (being twilight in the evening) our Scouts discovered the enemy in a large body somewhat neere us; Whereupon we drew into a body, and made a stand, where their Dragoones charged us, (our Dragoones being then not idle:) but it pleased God by his providence, to carry the bullets over our heads. After almost halfe an houre in this posture, our Commanders agreed to fall on, and having spent some great shot on both sides, our men resolutely and valiantly matched up,

and ſuch was the providence and goodneſſe of God to us, that the hearts of our enemies fayl'd them, in ſo much that they durſt not ſtand the charge; but immediately betooke themſelves to a confuſed flight; and we purſued them with ſome violence about two miles; then being ſomewhat too darke to obſerve any order, or to keepe together, were conſtrained to returne to our body, keeping a partie in the feild all night; the reſt a little before day returned to our Quarter. The certaine number of men ſlaine, we are uncertaine of, but by the reports of our Souldiers, and what I ſaw, little leſſe then an hundred of ſlaine and mortally wounded; and we loſt but two men that I heare of kild in the feild: we tooke priſoners of them fortie-five, beſides divers of their Horſe and Armes; and reſcued many priſoners that they had lately taken; we tooke foure or five of their Colours, and are now marched into *Lincolne*, where we ſhall refreſh our ſelves till the next opportunitie.

A Report was made in the Houſe of Commons, to this effect, That one *Fitz-Gerard*, a Papiſt, who had kept in obedience thoſe parts of *Ireland* where he lived, comming to the Lord *Inſiquine*, demanded of him whether he knew which ſide the King favoured, for he was not willing to be againſt the King: The Lord *Inſiquine* deſired his Majeſties anſwer and declaration in the thing; as alſo his approbation of him to be Governour of *Limericke*, (the Major of the Citie offering him the government thereof, if his Majeſtie thought fit.) The King returned this anſwer, that his proceedings were ſuch as he did well approve, and would in due time reward: Withall commanding the Major of *Limerick* to deliver the Towne unto him.

At the ſame time, a Letter was ſent from the Lord *Taff*, and the Lord *Dillon*, two Popiſh *Iriſh* Rebells, which are now Commanders in the Kings Army here, wherein they certified that the affayres of the Kingdome of *England* ſtood ſo at this time, that his Majeſtie could not publickly declare what was in his breaſt, but in truth and in deed, he did not approve his way, but was reſolved to reward the Lords, who are the chiefe Rebells in *Ireland*.

Which

Which Letter being read in the House of Commons, they passed a Vote, that all Papists whatsoever that now are up in Armes against the Parliament, are Traytors by the Law of the Land, and shall have their estates sequestred for the present benefit of the Kingdome.

The House of Commons on Munday had a Conference with the Lords about the *Scotts* Armie in *Ireland*, and about sending Commissioners, whether they would continue the Armie there, or discharge it, and as they had formerly declared the same; that they could neither continue it for want of money, nor for the same reason discharge it, but thought good to send Commissioners to debate and conclude some other way, which this State could best beare, and might be most satisfactory to their Brethren of *Scotland*, they desired the Lords that according to that former agreement (many urgent busnesses besides with their Brethren of *Scotland* being to be treated of) that they would instantly resolve upon their Members that were to goe, and to let them know, that they also might appoint theirs, and send away, for the *Scots* Estates were shortly to Assemble, and if they should dissolve, they could not easily be againe Conveened; and besides the yeare is farre spent, and if speed were not made, they could not doe any thing that might be usefull this Summer.

The Lords also acquainted the Commons with a Message from his Majestie, to this effect, that he had sent a Message neere a moneth since, and had not received an Answer of it, at which he could not but much wonder, and had he had Answer, in all likelihood things had been agreed, and the Armies disbanded by this time; He therefore had sent a second time for answer, and that he had not done out of any wants or weakneſse of his Armies, being strong and numerous both horse and foote, and now well provided of Ammunition, Powder, &c.

which

which before it might be thought he wanted; but chiefly for the avoyding the shedding of the bloud of his Subjects, and if either side should prevaile in fight, yet he considered the losse was of his owne people; and he also foresaw that after the sword, famine, plague, and pestilence was like to sweepe away more then the sword, besides the totall losse of *Ireland*; but if he should not be answered, He then beleeved it would be granted, that all the miseries that followed they were guiltie of that had been deafe to all accords.

The Lords after the Message was read, propounded to the House of Commons, that the former Commons might be renewed, and that reasons might be thought upon why they could not give Answer to the former Message; and likewise to let his Majestie understand, that the Houses of Parliament had ever had their eares open to any accommodation, that might stand with the assurance of the injoyment of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties.

There is a speech, that the Forces sent from the West, are got to *Salisbury*, and that my Lord of *Hertford* followes them; and that Sir *William Waller* is gathering what Forces he can together to encounter them.



The Kings Letter to the Queen:
And STAFFORD is taken in.

Numb. 20.

K. pp. Lond.

THE KINGDOMES VVeekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 16. of *May*, to *Tuesday* the 23 of *May*. 1643.

1. THe Parliament and His Excellencie the Earle of ESSEX were Informed this weeke by a Letter dated 16. *May* instant at *Alesbury* from Colonell *Wittewrong* and Colonell *Turrell*, of the barbarous and inhumane carriage of the Cavaliers at *Swanbourne* (a little Village and no Garrison Towne) in *Buckinghamshire*, which Towne they set on fire in seven severall places (the Inhabitants being unwilling to be plundred) and devided their forces proportionably, guarding therewith the places so fired to keepe of the Inhabitants of the Town, and their Neighbours from quenching the same, and one woman bigg with child seeing her house on fire, attemped to go to doe her endeavour to quench it, the bloody Cavaliers shott her with a brace of Bullets through the belly, of which shee dyed immediatly, and the innocent lambe in her wombe destroyed with her: Such of the goods of the Town as they could not carry away with them, they cut or broke in pieces, and did drive away all horses, Cattell and sheepe which they possibly could get, even from those who were wellwilers to the proceedings at *Oxford*; And therefore the Malignants in and about *London* that wish for their comming, most expect, that if these Cvaliers (*Monsters of mankind*) should enter this City, that they would shew no more favour to

them and their wives, then to this poore ſoule that was thus cruelly murdered; what helliſh murders have theſe men Committed on the high way betweene this and *Maydenhead* within this three weekes, is well knowne againſt all Law of Armes and Chriſtianity, killing men, and not giving quarter where it was craved; all the excuſe his Maieſtie made for theſe mens murdering of his Subjects in the high way, when a Doctor of the Civill Law, and Aſſiſtant in the Lords Houſe tould him of it (who narrowly eſcaped with his owne life) was, that they were *Walloones and Strangers*, and people might doe well to keepe out of their way.

2. The Houſe of Commons reſted not here with the ſence onely of theſe Rapines and murders, but examined whence theſe Councels came, that his Maieſtie ſhould permit ſuch Cruelties to be exerciſed towards his good Subjects here, as if they about him were impatient that they have beene ſo long before they begunne to imitate (though *Brommigham* ſhewed their malice) their Brethren in iniquitie, the Rebells in *Ireland*, in Spoiles, Rapines, and murders: and upon a long and ſerious debate, It was unanimouſly agreed by the Houſe of Commons, and moſt readily aſſented to by the Houſe of Peeres (who are daily Convinced of the Cavaliers inhumane actions) to Vote, as followeth, *That a Declaration ſhall be prepared, ſetting forth that the Rebellion in Ireland, and this in England againſt the Parliament, ſpringing from one head, and are managed with Concurrent Counſells to one end, for the utter overthrow and extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion.*

3. If the Lords and Commons ſhould have concurred in ſuch a Vote, upon preſumptions onely (though God knowes there is too much of that) it might (in the opinion of ſome) have taken off the repute and validitie of the Vote: but to inſtance of one particular (beſides what's in the Decke, and would make the people of *England* amazed if it ſhould ſee the light) amongſt other) which was declared (by command of Parliament) on Thurſday 18. *May*, in the preſence of the Lords and Commons, by a Member of Parliament, a man of worth and knowne integritie, and who hath beene in Service againſt the Rebells, almoſt ever ſince the Rebellion begun; who informed them that he conceived he was bound in conſcience not to conceale any thing that was in his knowledge, which did concerne the publique, but to publiſh and make it knowne; that which he did ſay, was to this purpoſe: that being in *Ireland*, the Lord *Inchiquin*, and himſelfe had the ſight of a Letter ſubſcribed by the Lord *Dillon*, and Collonell *Taffe*, directed to the Lord of *Muskerry*, one of the greateſt Rebells in *Ireland*; wherein they write to this effect, *That his Majeſtie commanded them to let him know,*

that

that he did well approve of the Lord Muskerry *his good service which he had done, that by reason of the distractions of* England, *he could not give him assistance, that in conclusion he should find His Majesty acknowledge his acceptable service, &c.*

He informed further, that being lately at *Oxford*, attending His Majesty about passing of a Bill for the relieſe of poore *Ireland*, he ſaw theſe two Agents of the Rebels that writ the ſaid Letter, frequent in His Majeſties preſence, which ſo moved this Gentleman, that he could containe himſelfe no longer, but immediately revealed to a Privy Councellour then preſent (my Lord of *Faulkland*) the Contents of the Letter aforeſaid, and deſired him to acquaint His Majeſtie with it, that unleſſe He did make them exemplary for uſing His Majeſties name to the countenancing of the Rebels in *Ireland*, His Majeſty could never wipe off the diſhonour that doth and will reflect upon Him for it; My Lord of *Faulkland* anſwered, it was a great deale of pitty they were not hanged; but five dayes after (notwithſtanding this complaint) the ſaid perſons were as conſtant at Court, as formerly, and it is knowne to many, that few of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants have that acceſſe that theſe men have; *Brian Oneale*, a knowne friend to the Rebels, is there alſo.

4. Thoſe that will call to minde the firſt time His Majeſtie began to raiſe an Army againſt the Parliament, theſe two perſons were continually with His Majeſty, they were in perſon (eſcaping out of cuſtody of the Parliament) in the ſervice againſt *Hull* (which Sir *John Hotham* knew full well, and therefore had cauſe to ſuſpect no good was intended to the Proteſtant Religion, when ſuch men were imployed,) Then when the deſigne againſt *Hull* could not take effect, theſe men attended His Majeſtie to *York*, and then a Proclamation (but God knowes the reality of the intention of it) came out, that no Papiſt ſhould come neere His Majeſties Court, theſe men (or at leſt *Taffe*) obſcured themſelves for a weeke, and it was publiſhed, that though His Majeſtie commanded no Papiſts ſhould come to His Court or Aſſiſtance, yet He expected they ſhould ſend in their horſes and Armes, and He would take care to put [illegible] *Proteſtant Riders* upon them; a little after theſe men appeared againe, as active as formerly, and in plaine *Engliſh*, all the Papiſts in the North began to ſtirre, according to private inſtructions they had received: And at the ſetting up of the Standard, theſe men were preſent, and no doubt prevailed with His Majeſty to ſeize the Armes, Horſes, and Artillery then at *Cheſter*, and ſome of them ſhipped to be paſſed over with the Lord Lieveteanant into *Ireland*, to be imployed againſt the Rebels there, but by this meanes converted againſt the Parliament, and alſo were preſent at the battell at *Keinton*, where *Taffe* was ſhot in the mouth, and ſuddenly af-

ters prevailed with His Majeſtie to receive a Petition from the Rebels in *Ireland*, and to ſend over a Commiſſion (wherein one *Birke*, a great *Iriſh* Papiſt, was a Commiſſioner with others) to receive Propoſitions (without conſent of Parliament) from the bloody and barbarous Rebels in *Ireland*, who have not had the thouſand part of the bitter Invectives in Proclamations and Declarations expreſſed againſt them, as the Parliament and Proteſtant Subjects in *England* have had publiſhed againſt them. (let the Malignants owne conſciences ſpeake if this be not true) by the violent influence of wicked Councels, who have made bold with His Majeſties name therein, and who have prevailed with His Majeſtie in all likelihood; but theſe men, inſtead of ſpeedy paſſing the Bill for the reliefe of the poore in *Ireland*, to returne an anſwer full of aſperity againſt the Parliament, taxing them with the expence of many thouſand pounds of the *Iriſh* money in this warre here, whereas if thoſe evill Counſellors about His Majeſtie, will be but pleaſed to ſend to view the accounts caſt up by the Auditor upon oath; I am certainly informed they will find, that many thouſand pounds are by the Parliament diſburſed (over and above the ſummes borrowed) in money, and taken up upon credit, and ſent over into *Ireland*, ſo that if any ſuffer for it, it is not our friends in *Ireland*, but the Merchants in *England* that have much of their monies unpaid, which they furniſhed freely upon credit.

5. The third thing obſervable this week, is the long expected Declaration of both Houſes of Parliament, touching the Treaty publiſhed in Print; In which both Houſes have theſe expreſſions following, *Fol.* 77. *That although their endevours* (to ſettle the diſtractions of the Kingdome) *have not onely proved fruitleſſe, but ſome of their Petitions received a denyall even of Audience* (a favour not denyed to the *Rebels in* Ireland) *which might very well juſtifie them before God and Man to decline any further proſecution in that way, eſpecially where themſelves and the Kingdome are the parties injured and oppreſſed, yet their bowels did ſo much yerne after a happy peace, that they reſolved, notwithſtanding their former diſtractions to breake through all diſtractions*; and yet once more to repreſent to His Majeſty, the miſerable diſtempers of His two Kingdomes, *England* and *Ireland*, and if poſſible they could, to encline His Royall heart, to act what he had ſo often verbally expreſſed, *to compaſſe thoſe unhappy diſtractions, and reſtore His people to a bleſſed and laſting peace.* And for that purpoſe, about the firſt of *February* laſt, they in all humbleneſſe preſented their deſires to His Majeſty, digeſted into fourteene Propoſitions, and how reaſonable and indifferent thoſe Propoſitions were, they expoſe them to the view of the world to judge, &c. And in *Fol.* 82. are many preſidents

cited,

civil, *that the Parliament demands concerning Forts and Castles to be put into the hands of such persons as both Houses should Confide in, was a Proposition warranted by the frequent presidents of former times, and that his Majesties predecessors have assented thereunto*: and in *fol* 84. are these words; *considering the Attempts by force and violence made and practised against the Kingdome and this present Parliament, as the disigne many years since to bring to this Kingdome the German horse to compell the Subject to Submit to an arbitrary Government, indeavour to bring up the late Northerne army, by force and violence to awe the Parliament; His Majesty comming in person to the House of Commons, accompanied with many armed men, to demand their Members to be delivered up: and the Treason of the Earle of* Strafford *to bring over the Irish Popish Army to conquer the Kingdome, they might very well justifie, nay they were in duty bound (in discharge of the trust reposed in them by the Common-wealth) to make that demand, and expect the performance thereof.* And whereas his Majesty so often reprehends the Parliament for breaking the knowne Laws of the Land in their unavoidable necessities and distractions, yet what little fruit the Kingdome hath reaped by the benefit of the Law from his Majesty, even in times of peace and plenty, for sixteen yeares together, appeares in the said Declaration, *fol.* 85. to this effect: Let the woefull experience of the Commissions to compell Loanes, the imposition of Shipmoney, without limitation of time or proportion, the power in the Counsell Board to commit men, and determine businesses, the Imposition upon forraigne and domestique Commodities, as upon Wines, Tobacco, &c. Bonelace, Pins, Sope, Starch, Salt, Coale, Hats, Cards, &c. and innumerable other projects, even to the getting a Patent under the great Seale of *England* (so cheape it was in those dayes) to have the sole Monopolie of Rags, which poore people raked out of Dunghils, against which the Subiect had no reliefe (though the then Judges were sought unto for Justice according to the known Lawes) & when at any time (as it is said in the same *fol.*) a Parliament was called (being the only cure and remedy of these griefes) It could no sooner touch upon these Sores, but it was dashed in pieces by a sudden dissolution, and now that a remedy is provided for these mischiefes, by the Act of Continuance of this Parliament: It is attempted by the force and power of an Army to effect that which formerly could have been done with more ease and readinesse; And as a meanes to bring this their Designe to passe, It is said by the Lords and Commons, *fol.* 86. His Majesty hath authorised the Papists of the Kingdome to take Armes to oppose the Parliament and their proceedings, who do rob, spoile, and deprive the Protestants of this Kingdome of their estates and lives, and that it

is actions of duty and loyalty in them to take Armes, &c. And *fol.* 102. ſaith as followeth, And then when that Malignant and popiſh party (too too prevalent with his Majeſty) perceived the conſtancy of the Parliament, and not to be provoked to breake the Treaty off on their part; They ſeduced His Majeſty to refuſe his conſent to the moſt neceſſary and juſt deſires of the Parliament, And therefore the Lords and Commons, *fol.* 103. conclude, *That they do hope, that not only ſuch as are already convinced of their deſigne and malice, but even thoſe that by their ſubtle and falſe pretences have been ignorantly ſeduced to joyne with them, that love their liberty and the Proteſtant Religion, will now with one heart and minde unite together to preſerve their Religion and Liberty; in the defence whereof, The Lords and Commons are reſolved to offer up themſelves, their lives, and fortunes, a willing Sacrifice.* And with this Declaration they have publiſhed two Letters which His Majeſty writ *with his owne hand* to the Queen, the latter of which I omit, it concerning only *Fine Deſignes* (though God hath hitherto prevented the putting them in execution) but the other, which the Parliament thought fit the Kingdome ſhould know (though full loath they have been to diſcover it) hoping in all this time (eſpecially their Army having deſiſted from proſecuting their good and proſperous ſucceſſe) as if after the taking of *Redding* we had advanced, *Oxford* had been ours without reſiſtance) His Majeſty would have left thoſe Counſels that have thus miſled him, and returned to the Parliament, who are (as it were) at the laſt gaſpe for life, to preſerve a beeing in themſelves, to ſave a diſtreſſed Kingdome, and are therefore neceſſitated to publiſh it in print, which I have here ſet downe *Verbatim*, out of the printed Copy (the originall being on Record in Parliament) and then let all the world judge, whether it concerned not the Parliament, as they intruſted by the Kingdome to take care for the ſafety thereof, to inſiſt upon their deſires concerning Ships, Forts, and Caſtles, when the diſpoſall of the *great places* of the Kingdome (and by conſequence the Kingdome it ſelfe) is at the will, or not to be diſpoſed of without the conſent of a *Papiſt*, upon whom the Counſels of the Fryars and Jeſuits have ſuch influence, that *England* and *Ireland* ſmart for it at this houre. The Letter follows in

Deare heart, Saturday and Sunday laſt I received two from thee, of the 29. of *December*, 9. of *January*, both which, gave me ſuch contentment, as thou maieſt better judge, then I deſcribe; the which, that thou maiſt the better doe, know, I was full three weeks wanting but one day, without hearing from thee, beſides ſcurvy *London* newes, of thy ſtay and lameneſſe, which though I did not beleeve, yet it vext me ſo much the more, that I could not

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prove them liars; so now I Conjure thee, by the affections thou bareſt me, not onely to Judge, but likewiſe participate with me in the contentment thou haſt given me, by aſſuring me of thy health and ſpeedy returne: concerning 45. 31. 7. 4. 133. 300. I will anſwer thee in thy owne words, *Je le remitteray a vous reſpondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment, in the meane time aſſure thy ſelfe, that I neither have, nor will loſe any time in ☞ *that buſineſſe*, and that I have not contented my ſelfe with *Generalls*; and though I hope ſhortly to have the happineſſe of thy company, yet I muſt tell thee of ſome particulars, in which, I deſire both thy *opinion* and aſſiſtance, I am perſecuted concerning places, *and All deſire to be put upon thee*, the which I cannot blame them; and yet thou knoweſt I have no reaſon to doe it, *Newarke* deſireth *Savils* place, upon condition to leave it when his father dyeth; *Carneworth* the ſame, *being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom, or how I pleaſe*. *Digby* and *Dunſmore* to be Captaine of the Penſioners, *Hartford* once looked after it, but now I beleeve he expects either to be Treaſurer, or of my Bed-chamber, I encline rather to the latter ☞ *if thou like it*, for I abſolutely hold *Cottington* the fitteſt man for the other; there is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deſerve as well as any, I mean *Capell*, therefore I deſire ☞ *thy aſſiſtance* to find ſomewhat for him before he aske, one place I muſt fill *before I can have thy opinion*, It is the Maſter of the Wards; I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that thou will not miſlike my choyce; and if he cannot performe both, *Ned Hyde* muſt be Secretary, for indeed, *I can truſt no other*. Now I have no more time to ſpeak of more, but to deſire thee not to engage thy ſelfe for any; Dated *Oxford*, *Febr.* 20. So I reſt eternally thine,

Jan. 23. *C. R.*

This Letter was ſent in a falſe Cover, directed to the Councell of *Scotland*, and paſſing through my Lord *Fairefaxs* Army, it was brought to his Lordſhip, whoſe minde gave him, it was not for *Scotland*, and opening the cover, found it ſo; and ſent this Letter as it came (unopened) to the Parliament: For the other Letter of *Fine Deſignes*, dated at *Oxford*, 2. 12. *March*, to take notice of one paſſage (for moſt of it is in figures (which the Malignants ſay is the Quotations of the knowne Lawes of the Land, which the Parliament has broken, as *H.* 3. 189. *E.* 3. 42. Deer (for Dyer) 45. 31. &c.) *viz. Yeſterday there was Articles of a Ceſſation brought me from* London, but ſo unreaſonable that I cannot grant them, yet to ☞ *undeceive* the people, by ſhewing it is not I, but thoſe who have cauſed and fottered this Rebellion, that deſire the continuance of this Warre and univerſall diſtraction, I am ſm-

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ming Articles fit for that purpose, both which by the next I mean to *send thee*. This Letter was written Mar. 2. It was the 4. of March before Sir Pet. Killegrew had his dispatch to return, and the matter of the Answer to the Parliament was in debate at Oxford Mar. 3. what answer was fit to send, and yet Mar. 2 (as appeares by this Letter) it was by his Majesty resolved on: So it seems the like Counsels do steer matters at Oxford now, in such manner as they did before the Parliament, for before the privy Counsellors used them to sit in Counsell, my Lo: of Canterbury, and 3, or 4. more usuall consulted privatly what should be done and when it came to the Board, though 24. were there present, yet the resolution went their way.

Another thing observable in the time of this Letter, is, That it was writ but a few dayes before the bloody plot or massacre at *Bristoll* should have been put in execution, and I have it from one of the Counsell of War at *Bristoll*, that *Tomkins*, upon whom (amongst others) the sentence of death is past for that conspiracy, that he was animated thereto by one so great, I tremble to mention, and had promised him, and all those Commanders in Colonell *Essex* his Regiment that had taken the oath of Secrecy with him, preferment: That the messenger they sent to the King was so well accepted, that the Kings owne horse (like as his Coach at *Edenburgh* was ready on the like occasion, was brought out for the Agent of the Conspirators to ride on to Prince *Rupert* to acquaint him therewith, who returned with Capt. *Cockram* and a Doctor, with severall Messages from [illegible] &c. to be ready by such an houre, and Prince *Rupert* should be there on the Downs, with Command that all on the Kings part should have white Ribbons on their Hats, that their blood might not be spilt; but for the more certainty hereof, I refer you to the Examinations themselves, which are to be sent up to my Lo: Generall.

5. The Drum is now beating for all Commanders and Souldiers in our Army upon paine of death to repaire to our Colours, his Excellencie being gone yesterday, so that I must be necessitated abrupely to breake off, and to give an account onely till this Friday night, not knowing when to have an opportunity, yet concluding with newes come to Towne not many houres since, more pleasing to the Malignants than my selfe, that my Lord of *Stamford* hath received an overthrow, lost eight pieces of Ordnance, 1000 Armes (if not more) many Prisoners, and *Chudley* taken, those that were not routed, returned to Barstable, and Plymouth, and that 1500. horse that were gone on another Designe, and not in action are come with those other forces to their Quarters.

You may take notice if you please, *Stafford* is taken by the Staffordshire Inhabitants, assisted with 300 of Sir William Brereetons Dragoons, and Cavaliers, they passed the river and scaled the walls, they took 200. prisoners, also 200. Horse, and two great pieces of Ordnance, good store of Armes, they pillaged from Papists plentifully, eight Esquires of great note they took prisoners, Mr. *Oneal*, and Mr. Co. *Digby* were two of them, these forces were commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Chadwicke*, who behaved himself bravely in the action.

It is certified out of Lincolnshire that 50. prisoners were brought to *Lincoln* by Capt. *Hatham*, and 7. Colours which were taken at the late fight neere Grantham, & divers more that were taken there that lie wounded in severall Townes, besides what were slain; and you may understand likewise, that lately between Nottingham & Darby, the Nottingham forces have taken about 60. horse of the Cavaliers, and routed the rest of their horse.

This Munday came a Message from the King, which was read as a Consultation with some Votes of the Lords for an Answer; it propounderh no particulars, it inviteth an accommodation by generalls; it tells them of the great force his Majestie hath, and of the supply of Ammunition that is come to him; and concludes, that the blood, ruine, and destruction of the Kingdome will be cast upon the Parliament if they treate not againe; but (as the burnt child dreads the fire) the House of Commons (as it is said) for they find so little regard given to the other Propositions of peace presented by them to his Majesty, that they think that this Message is rather to gaine the people, and to interrupt proceedings to raise money, then to gaine a Peace.

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ORDINANCE

OF THE

LORDS and COMMONS

Assembled in Parliament,

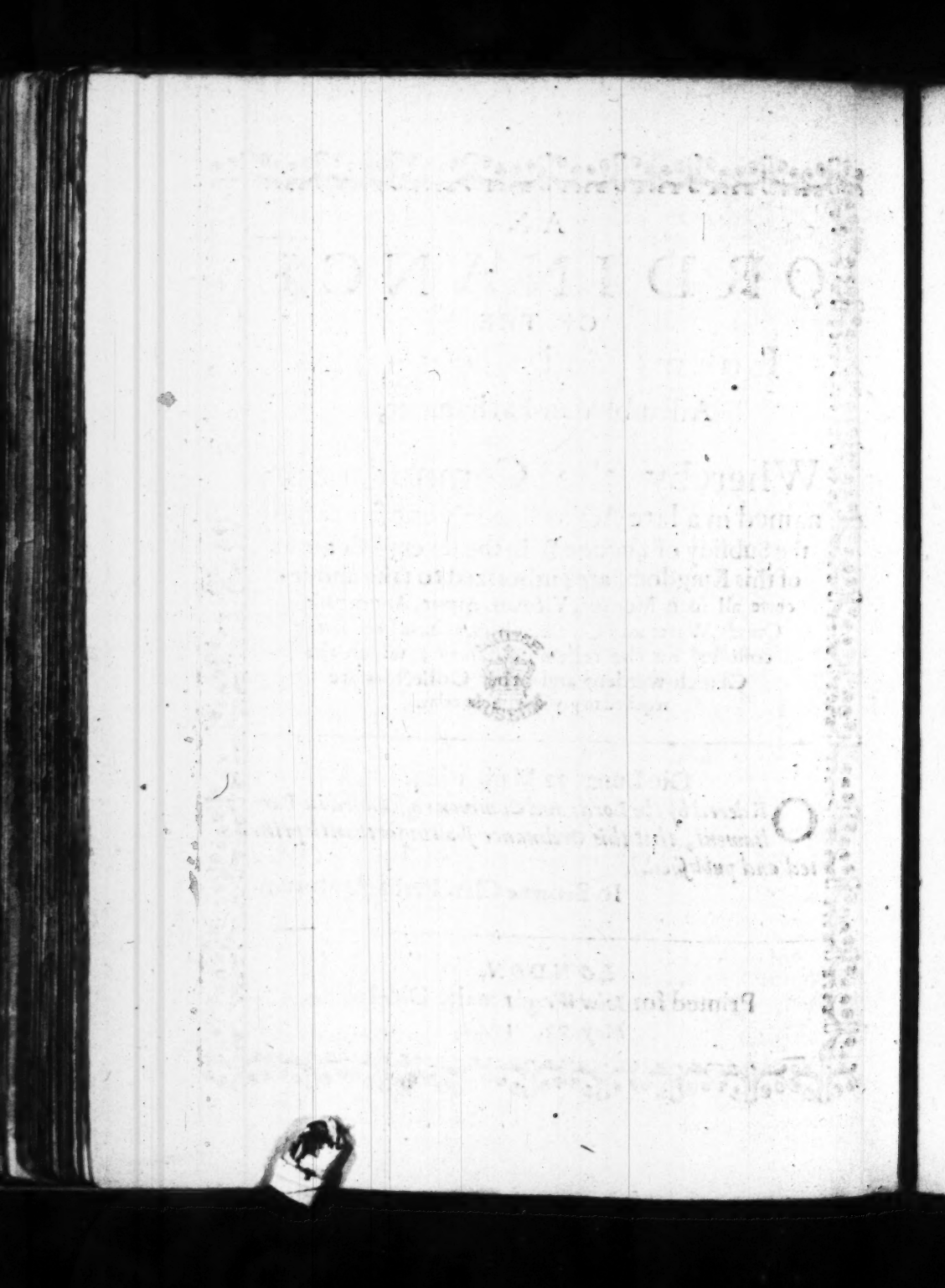
Whereby the Commissioners named in a late Act of Parliament for raising the Subsidy of 400000 l. in the severall Counties of this Kingdom, are authorized to take and receive all such Moneys, Victuals, Armes, Ammunition, Goods, Wares, and Commodities, as have been lately collected for the relieſe of *Ireland*; which the Church-wardens and other Collectors are required to pay in without delay.

Die Lunæ, 22 Maii 1643.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Ordinance shall be forthwith printed and published.

Io. Browne Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Wright* in the Old-baily,
May 23. 1643.



Die Mercurii, 17 Maii. 1643.

WHereas by an Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, dated the 30. day of January last, for a new loane and Contribution towards the reliefe of Ireland, it is (amongst other things which conduce to the advance of that service) ordered that the Churchwardens of every Parish (or the Overseers for the poore, where there is no Churchwardens) having collected and gathered the free and charitable Benevolences of all the Inhabitants thereof; and all sum and sums of Monie, Victuall, Arms, Ammunition, Goods, Wares, or Commodities that any the said Parishioners shall be willing to lend and disburse, as in the said Ordinance is expressed, shall cause to be written downe in a Schedule thereof indent-

ed, as well the name and names of the ſe-
verall Givers as of the Lenders, with the
ſeverall ſum and ſums which ſhall bee by
every of them lent or given: and having
ſubſcribed their names at the foot of one
part of the ſaid Schedule indented, ſhall
deliver that part, together with all ſuch
ſum and ſums of Money, Victuall, Arms,
Ammunition, Goods, Wares, and Com-
modities, unto ſuch perſon or perſons
as ſhall be therefore imployed and intruſted
by Order of the Committee of Parliament
mentioned in the ſaid Ordinance to bee ap-
pointed to take care of the affaires of Ire-
land, or any eight of them, and that the ſaid
perſon and perſons ſo intruſted, ſhall upon
receipt thereof ſubſcribe the other part of
the ſaid Schedule to remaine with the
Churchwardens, or Overſeers, and Parish-
ioners, as is expreſſed in that Ordinance,
and receiving the Money, Victuall, Arms,
Ammunition, Goods, Wares, and Com-
modities in the ſeverall Parishes, ſhall with
all convenient ſpeed after the receipt there-
of returne the ſame unto the Treaſurers
appointed by that Ordinance at the Guild-
hall

hall London. Now forasmuch as in the directions that have been already given into the severall Counties of this Kingdom, to the Commissioners named in the late Act of Parliament for raising the Subsidie of 400000. li. to whose care and good endeavours the managing of this Affaire is specially recommended; no person or persons are particularly named to receive such Money, Victuals, Armes, Ammunition, Goods, Wares, and Commodities from the Churchwardens and Overseers in such manner as the Ordinance of Parliament doth seeme to require, and as may bee for their indempnity and discharge.

The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, to avoid all ambiguities and hinderances that may retard the service which is of so great necessity at this present, and to give the best furtherance they may to so pious and charitable a Worke which is so well begun in divers parts of the Kingdom, already doe hereby authorize and appoint the before mentioned Commissioners named in the late Act of

Parliament for raiſing the Subſidie of 400000. li. in the ſeverall Counties of this Kingdome, and the Dominion of Wales, within the ſeverall diviſions of each County, as well within Liberties as without, to receive and take either by themſelves, or ſuch perſons as they ſhall depute from the Churchwardens, Collectors, and others that are imployed for ſuch Collections, all ſuch Moneys, Victuals, Armes, Ammunition, Goods, Wares and Commodities, as they have, or ſhall from time to time have collected by vertue of the ſaid Ordinance, together with the Schedules thereof, ſo to be ſigned as aforelaid, and to ſubſcribe and deliver back unto thoſe Churchwardens or Collectors, the other part of ſuch Schedules indented for their indemnity and diſcharge: And the ſaid Churchwardens and Collectors of every Parish, as well within Liberties as without, are hereby required to deliver, without delay, all ſuch Money, Victuals, Armes, Ammunition, Goods, Wares, and Commodities, with the Schedules before mentioned, unto thoſe reſpective Commiſſioners, or ſuch as they

they shall appoint to receive the same, who are in all other respects to observe the former directions given them for the disposing thereof, according to the tenor of the said Ordinance and Orders given them in that behalfe.

FINIS.

FINIS.

K.P.P. Oxford

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

The nineteenth VVeeke.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY

SUNDAY. *May* 7.

WHat care His Majeſty had taken for the relieſe of His hurt and maimed Soldiers, by His Proclamation bearing date *May* 2^d^. wee ſaw before in the laſt weeke. But being that related onely to the future, and was not likely to yeeld helpe and comfort to them for the preſent time, eſpecially to ſuch as were now under cure and in the hands of the Chirurgion. His Majeſty cauſed a Writing to be publiſhed this day in all the Colledges and Pariſh Churches in *Oxford*, at the time of Divine ſervice, for a Collection to be made for their preſent comfort and relieſe: with Order for mony ſo collected, to be diſtributed amongſt his hurt and wounded ſoldiers, according to the urgencie of their neceſſities, and as the *Treaſurer* for that purpoſe nominated and appointed by his Majeſty, ſhould be directed by the Commiſſioners, for the care of his Majeſties Armies. And that His Majeſty might not ſeeme to commend that charitable worke to others, which hee was not willing to advance in his owne particular, he did contribute towards it himſelfe in a bountifull manner; and in the ſame was ſeconded by the two young Princes, and ſuch of the Nobility as attended on him to the Church: to the great comfort and incouragement of the common ſoldiers, ſee-

ing their caſe and cure ſo tenderly regarded by their gracious Soveraigne.

It was this day advertiſed by letters out of *Huntingdonſhire*, that Colonell *Cromwell* had committed many barbarous outrages in ſeverall parts of that County, robbing and ſpoyling all men of what ſort ſoever, whom hee was pleaſed to ſtile *Malignants*. And in particular, that having made great havocke there amongſt the *Orthodoxe* Clergie of thoſe parts, hee came at laſt unto the houſe of one Maſter *Wilſon*, an ancient and painfull Miniſter, whom hee handled in ſo rough and rude a manner, that a ſonne of his being then in the houſe (who alſo was in holy orders) was forced (according to his naturall duty) to make interceſſion for his Father: and amongſt other motives, which hee laid before him told *Cromwell* that the wheele might turne, and he might ſtand in need of that mercy then, which now was in his power to ſhew. At which *Cromwell* became ſo furious and impatient, that hee told him hee would ſpoyle his *Preaching*, and preſently cauſed him to be hanged up, and bored his tongue thorow with an hot iron. An act ſo barbarous, that it may be very well affirmed of theſe deſperate wretches, that they have not onely rebelled againſt God and the King, but againſt nature alſo.

It was certified this day alſo by ſome letters from *London*, that the Houſes are upon a courſe of ſending their Agents to the *States* of *Denmarke*, without relating to the King thereof, as alſo to the Crowne of *Sweden*, the City of *Hamborough* and others of the *Hanſe townes* in high *Germany*; having already one with the *States Generall* of the united Provinces, of whom you heard the laſt weeke; and are reſolved for a Committee to be ſent to *Scotland* to deſire the *Scots* to come and helpe them: as alſo that a *Declaration* to that purpoſe be with ſpeed drawne up, to ſatisfie thoſe ſeverall *States* in the unqueſtionable juſtice of their cauſe in the preſent warre againſt His Majeſtie. And it was ſignified, that whilſt the buſineſſe was in agitation in the Houſe of *Commons*, it was propoſed by Maſter *Martin*, that before they ſent their *Agents* to thoſe forraigne *States*, they ſhould firſt declare that *they did and would take all the people of this Kingdome into their protection*

that

that is to ſay, (if I underſtand his meaning rightly) that they would take the Government of the Kingdome into their owne hands, and afterwards negotiate with thoſe forraine *States* upon equall termes. Which as it was paſſed by without reproofe, ſo poſſibly there may be ſome intent (though not yet diſcovered) to put the ſame in execution. For it is certified from thence, that being His Majeſties aſſent could not be obtained unto the *Bill* by them prepared, for an aſſembly of *Diuines* of their owne election, to ſettle matters of the Church as they pleaſed themſelves; it was reſolved to do it by an Ordinance of both Houſes: and that for the procuring of more reverence & authority to this way of *Ordinances*, it was ordered upon *Tueſday* laſt, that in regard their *Ordinances* were to bind the Subject in their lands, lives, perſons, eſtates, they ſhould not be paſſed with ſo much haſt and little deliberation as they had beene formerly, but ſhould have each of them, three ſeverall readings, as the *Statutes* had, before they were ingroſſed to be tranſmitted to the other Houſe. You ſee they want but little of *Free States* indeed, taking upon them to make *Lawes* without His Majeſtie; and what a likelihood there is that Maſter *Martins* propoſition may be hearkned to, in caſe it be not over-ruled by a greater project of the ſame great *Stateſman*.

This day alſo wee had advertiſement what barbarous acts have beene commited in *Northamptonſhire* by the Rebels there, eſpecially how one Maſter *Reinolds* being aſleepe in his owne houſe, one of theſe plundering Rebels ſet a piſtoll to his mouth and ſhot him dead as he lay aſleepe. And the Reader may obſerve, that though there be two Garriſons the one in *Northampton*, the other at *Rockingham* Caſtle, which are maintained there (as themſelves ſay) *to preſerve the peace of that County and keepe it from plundering*, yet *Cromwell* muſt be permitted to run over all the Country, and plunder all the theiſe Gentry and ſuch others as he pleaſed. So that *to keepe a County in peace and free from plundering* is to awe it with Garriſons of Armed men, that when the appointed plunderer ſhall come he may find the people tame, and more eaſie to be pillaged.

MUNDAY. *May* 8.

It was advertiſed from *London* by letters of the third of *May*, that the ſaid Maſter *Martin* having a Commiſſion from his *Excellencie* to raiſe a *Regiment* of *Horſe* at his owne charge, that is to ſay, by ſeizing on the horſes of all *Malignants*, went preſently into the Kings ſtables at the *Mewes*, and tooke thence two of His Majeſties horſes; notice whereof being given to the Lords, they ſent their warrant to him to reſtore them: to which the angry Gentleman returned this anſwer, that had the warrant come from both Houſes of Parliament it had come from the higheſt authority in *England*, but coming from the Lords onely, the horſes ſhould not be delivered upon their warrant without an Order alſo from the Houſe of *Commons*; and that he knew no reaſon why he might not as lawfully take thoſe horſes for the ſervice of the *King and Parliament*, (he ſaid true in that) as the *Parliament* had taken from the King his *Forts* and *Ships*, with many other expreſſions of an high nature. At this the Lords being very angry, ſent preſently for a *Conference* with the *Lower* Houſe, requiring reparations of them, and that the *Commons* would joine with them in a letter to the Lord *Generall* to diſcharge *Martin*, and take away his Commiſſion from him: which the *Commons* were ſo farre from doing, that they juſtified *Martyn* in his action, and ſaid it was well done not to deliver the horſes on their Lordſhips warrant, without an *Order* from their Houſe; At which the Lords were much offended, and grow exceeding ſenſible both of their errour and condition, but cannot helpe it.

It was alſo certified, that the Earle of *Mancheſter* told certaine of the Lords who were looked at as the Kings friends, that if they will not give way to the *paſſing* of ſuch things as depend in the Houſe, they ſhall *paſſe* without them; it being ordinarie for *Ordinances* to paſſe by three or foure diligent *Lords*, when all the reſt are gone to dinner. But 'tis beleived their Lordſhips may be eaſed of that trouble ſhortly: it being

moved

moved by the ſaid Maſter *Martyn* upon occaſion of an *Ordinance* to be made for plundering all that ſhould refuſe to pay the 20th part over all the Kingdome, that they ſhould *paſſe* the ſame without the *Lords*, being able of themſelves to doe it, and that they had as good do it, upon this occaſion, ſeeing they would be ſhortly forced to doe it upon ſome other of the ſame nature. And as it ſeemes, the Lords begin to be ſuſpicious that the *Commons* meane to part ſtakes with them if not take all from them, it being certified by letters of the fourth of *May*, that D *Somes* of *Windſor* being charged that day for giving thanks for His Majeſties good ſucceſſe at *Brainceford*, (a great crime aſſuredly) with other offences of that *capitall* nature, it was propounded by the *Commons* to have him *cenſured* by an *Ordinance*, where they might act the part of *Judges*, not in the way of an *impeachment* where they muſt play the part but of *Jurors* onely. But the *Lords* finding that this courſe would put the *Commons* into a power of *Judicature*, demurred upon it, and ſo no more was done that day. By which particulars the ſenſible Reader may perceive, that if the *Monarchy* go downe, the *Ariſtocracie* is not like to continue long.

It was advertiſed from thence alſo, that a Petition was preſented to the Houſe of *Commons* by Maſter *Kirk* Gentleman of the Robes unto his Majeſty, that 500l might be iſſued out of the *pipe* of the Mint (as heretofore hath beene accuſtomed) for His Majeſties clothes: but anſwered, that though it was His Majeſties money, yet he ſhould not have it, for ſeeing he could find money to maintaine the warre, he ſhould find money alſo to buy him clothes. And ſuch is their affection alſo to His Majeſties children. For though in Anſwer to His Majeſties demands about his *revenue*, it was affirmed by their *Committee* here at *Oxford*, that a great part of that which they had received, had beene expended on His Majeſties children at Saint *Iames's*: yet now on Maſter *Speakers* motion for ſome preſent money for the uſe of thoſe children, their wants being ſuch that he profeſſed he was aſhamed to make it publicke, nothing could be obtained but a naked promiſe that they would take the buſineſſe into conſideration. His Majeſtie and His

Children are beholding to them, whoſe perſons and eſtates they regard ſo tenderly. So are His Majeſties ſervants too, whom they have outed of their places, and expoſed to ruine: it being further certified by ſome Letters thence, that they had plundered Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, the *Recorder* of *London*, of all the goods he had in his houſe, without leaving him any thing; voted him out of his Office alſo, and actually cauſed Sergeant *Pheſant* to be ſworne into it, (to the great griefe of Maſter *Glynn* who had long looked for it:) and that they had made Sir *Robert Harley* maſter of the *Mint*; it may be out of a deſire of having a faithfull ſervant in that place, whoſe ſervice and fidelity they may truſt unto, in coyning money with their owne ſtampe and impreſſe, when they are ready for that change.

TUESDAY, *May* 9.

It was this day certified, that Sir *William Waller* either upon intelligence of Prince *Maurice* comming that way, or not being able to ſpare ſo many of his Souldiers, as of neceſſity muſt be left there in Garriſon, had quitted *Heneford*, without much ſpoyle or hurt done to it, and was retreated back againe unto his ſtarting hole at *Glouceſter*.

It was advertiſed alſo out of *Staffordſhire*, that His Majeſties Forces garriſon'd in *Tamworth* Caſtle, having notice of 200 Foot and Dragoons, that were ſent from *Coventry* to carry proviſions and ſupplies to ſome of their Accomplices in *Maxtoke Caſtle*, (not farre from *Colſhill*, in the County of *Warwicke*) met them in the way, and fell ſo unexpectedly upon them, that they killed 25 in the place, tooke 18 of their Horſes, with their Armes and weapons, put all the reſidue to flight, and hindred the deſigned ſupply from going forwards.

This day newes alſo came by a Gentleman of good quality comming from the *North*, that *Rotheram* and *Sheffield*, two Townes of principall note in the *Weſt-riding* of *Yorkeſhire*, (both which before had contributed very largely to the aide of

of *Leedes*) were yeilded up unto His Majeſtie; by getting which His Majeſtie had obtained two convenient *paſſes*, the one by *Sheffeild* into *Darbyſhire*, the other by *Rotheram* into thoſe parts of *Nottinghamſhire*, which are moſt helpefull unto *Gell* and his aſſociates: and that, beſides the uſe His Majeſtie might have of the *Sheffeild* Cutlers (for which that Towne is very famous) in the imployments of His *Armory*, there were found 1400 Armes in *Rotheram* fit for preſent uſe, together with five thouſand pounds in ready money. It was alſo certified this day, that the defeat given to the *Rebels* on Saturday laſt by the Earle of *Northampton*, had wrought ſo much upon the Gentry of *Northamptonſhire*, that ſeeing ſome apparant hopes of being manumitted from the ſervitude, under which they lived, they had already ſent unto him 80 Horſe, and had undertaken alſo to raiſe two Troopes of Horſe more, and 200 *Dragooners*, with all ſpeed that might be, his Lordſhip having gotten Armes enough for them in that brave defeat. And it was ſignified withall, that aſwell to let the people of that County ſee the miſerable effects of their diſloyalty and diſobedience, as to put them to the charge of tending, curing, and providing for their unfortunate party: his Lordſhip cauſed a great part of the wounded Priſoners, whom he had taken in the late fight, to be laid in Carts, and carried to ſome ill affected Villages of that County, and there left amongſt them.

WEDNESDAY, *May* 10.

It was advertiſed from *London*, that upon Thurſday *May* the 4th, Maſter *Speaker* brought a Petition to the Houſe of *Commons*, forced on him (as he ſaid) by an hundred *Mariners*, who had conjured him to reade it; the buſineſſe, to be ſatiſfied in ſome *Arreires* which were due unto them, being 140*l*. or thereabouts: but that the Houſe did nothing in it more then to put them off unto their Captaine, which gave ſo little ſatisfaction to the *Petitioners*, that the *Mariners* appointed for a Ship which was bound for *Dunkirke*, began to mutiny. It ſeemes the tide of Treaſure flowe's not in ſo faſt as it was expected;

expected: it being advertiſed, that failing of the hopes they had made themſelves, of being furniſhed with 100000l from the *Hamborough* Merchants, and finding that their Farmers of the Cuſtomes were utterly unable to ſupply their continuall wants, they had beene practiceing with the *Turky* Merchants, and with the Company of the *Merchant-Adventurers*, to advance ſummes ofmoney for their preſent uſe, but could ſpeed with neither. And it was further ſignified, that whereas formerly they had (though not without great difficulty) advanced the ſumme of 40000l by way of loane, to be re-paid againe with conſideration for the forbearance of the ſame, after the rate of 8l in the hundred, out of the monies due and payable on the weekely Aſſeſſements; and for ſecuring of this payment accordingly, had paſſed an *Ordinance* or *Declaration* bearing date the 6. of *April* laſt, to let us ſee how little care they have of that *publike faith*, which they have ſo often pawned and morgaged, they have cauſed all the monies raiſed on the ſaid Aſſeſſements, to be brought unto them for the ſupply of their neceſſities, and put off the abuſed Citizens to a further day.

It is advertiſed from thence alſo, that there was preſented on Thurſday laſt to the Houſe of *Commons*, a *Remonſtrance* comming out of *Buckinghamſhire*, of the ſame ſtraine, and to the ſame intent and purpoſe, as that which had before beene hammered in the Citie of *London*. Which being corrected and enlarged, and fitted to the preſent times by Maſter *Strode*, and the reſt of the *Committee* at *Plunderers Hall*, (as they call it now) was ſent againe into the Country to be ſubſcribed by the hands of poore ignorant people, who knew nothing of it. As alſo, that on Wedneſday (the day before) the *Londoners* began their labour about their Fortifications and Intrenchments; every houſholder being commanded to ſend both men-ſervants and maid-ſervants, with their ſpades and baskets to advance the worke. And it was certified that on Wedneſday night, the women-labourers at their returne had drawne themſelves into a Regiment of their owne, and came marching homewards through the ſtreetes with their Spades and Pick-axes,

Pick-axes, with ſo much confidence and impudence, as might make it manifeſt, that when the men thinke fit to caſt off their loyalty, the women are not bound to retaine their modeſty.

THURSDAY, *May* 11.

It was advertiſed this day, that the Lord *Say* having beene tampering with the Citizens for ſupply of moneys, brought word into the Houſe that hee had prevailed ſo farre amongſt them, as to lend the 40000' deſired, ſo they might be ſecured out of the weekely Aſſeſſements, raiſed and to be raiſed on foure of the neighbouring Counties, and that the *Covenant* and *Aſſociation* ſo much preſſed before, might at laſt be paſſed, & ſpeedily impoſed upon the Subject; that otherwiſe money would not be granted, and that he had received intelligence from the Earle of *Eſſex*, that without preſent ſupply of mony, neither his Horſe nor Foot would advance forward. He alſo told them, that his Excellency had ſent for 2000 *Volunteires* from *London* to lie in *Reading*, whileſt his old Souldiers went into the field, but found them more unwilling to goe then he did expect; that the weekely payments in the Citie would very ſhortly be at an end, being ordered at the firſt but for three moneths onely, and therefore that it was expedient to draw up an *Ordinance* for ſetling the *Exciſe* upon commodities, before projected. And it was certified withall, that though a great part of the Lords were willing to concurre in the other motions, yet that of the *Aſſociation* would by no meanes downe: ſome of the Lords obſerving, that having before beene ſpoken of at the *Committee*, and by them laid by, it was not fit to be revived; *Northumberland* adding, that he had already taken the Oathes of *Supremacy*, *Allegeance*, and the *Proteſtation*; that if this were the ſame with thoſe, it need not be preſſed, if different from it, and of a further obligation, he would neither take it himſelfe, nor impoſe it on others.

This day we received the information given into the *Committee* againſt Maſter *Ephraim Udall*, Rector of Saint *Auſtins*,

London, wherein they charge him with ſuch Articles, as all good men may deſire to be accuſed of: as, 1. *That when the laſt 30000 was to be raiſed, he refuſed to reade the precept from the Lord Major, ſaying, it was againſt his conſcience, and would lend no money about that buſineſſe.* 2. *He never prayeth for the good ſucceſſe of the Parliament, nor for the deſtruction of the Cavaleirs, but contrarily prayeth that the hand of vengeance may ſtrike all ſuch as riſe up againſt the King.* 3. *That he printed a booke* (againſt Sacriledge) *called* Noli me tangere. 4. *That he ſet forth a booke called* Communion Comlineſſe. And upon theſe Articles they proceeded againſt him, thruſt him out of his Living, and confined him to his chamber, never ſo much as hearing what he could ſay for himſelfe.

It was alſo certified this day, that (in purſuance of the Propoſition made by Maſter *Martyn*) the Houſe of *Commons* hold their grounds, and yeild not any thing unto the Lords, in which their *vote* or approbation at the leaſt is not firſt obtained: inſomuch, that when the Lords, on the Petition of Maſter Juſtice *Mallet*, had *ordered* him to be releaſed of his impriſonment, and to abide in his owne lodging in *Sergeants* Inne, and did accordingly releaſe him; the Houſe of *Commons* re-committed him on Munday laſt unto *Ely* Houſe, and after by the ſelfe ſame *Lords* (the Houſe of *Commons* ſo deſiring) he was committed to the *Tower* againe. And it was alſo ſignified, that the *Lords* are growne ſo willing to comply, by reaſon of this frequent croſſing and over-ruling of their *Orders* by the Houſe of *Commons*; that a great Lord being to move the Houſe for a free Paſſe for the Earle of *Bath* and his Lady to goe unto the *Spaw*, propoſed it and procured it on no other termes, then if the Houſe of *Commons* ſhould conſent unto it.

FRIDAY, *May* 12.

This day came out His Majeſties *Proclamation and Declaration concerning a clauſe in one of the late Articles at Reading*, in which His Majeſtie taking notice of a *Proclamation*

bearing

bearing date the 18th of *April*, containing His Majesties gracious pardon to the *Rebells* then (and now) in Armes against him; as also, that by certaine *Articles* betweene the Earle of *Essex* and the Commander of His Majesties Forces in *Reading* such persons who had left that Rebellious Army, and betaken themselves to His Majesties service and protection, were delivered backe into the hands of those whom out of conscience and duety to His Majesty they had forsaken; *declareth* unto all the world, that he was neither privy to, nor in the least degree consented to that exception, but holds the same so prejudiciall to his service and derogatory from his honour, that he should rather choose to run any danger the violence and treason of his enemies could bring upon him, then to withdraw or deny His Majesties protection to any of those, who should returne unto their duty, and betake themselves unto His service: His Majesty declaring further, that as he had referred to a *Councell of warre* the full examination of all the particular proceedings in the delivery of that Towne, that Justice might be done accordingly; so he would alwaies proceed with like severity against all such as by the like dishonourable conditions should expose such of His good Subjects to ruine, who had returned to their obedience to His Majesty. Which signified, His Majesty againe renewed His gracious promises and offers contained in that His Majesties *Proclamation* of the 18th of *April*, upon the limitations and conditions in the same expressed; His Majesty further in the word of a King, assuring all such His good subjects who should so put themselves into His Majesties hands, that they shall not onely receive His Majesties grace and protection, but that their former errours shall never be remembred in the least degree to their disadvantage.

It was this day advertised by letters sent from *London* that notwithstanding his *Excellency* with his owne hand had subscribed the Capitulations made at *Reading*, in which it was agreed, that *all who had no mind to abide in the Towne, should have six weekes time for the remove all of their goods*, to some o-

ther place, yet he was pleased to signifie by letters (of his own hand too) that *he conceived they might be staied, by vertue of a former Ordinance of both the Houses in regard many of them were malignants, especially considering that 20000 at least might be raised out of them*; and that the proposition was so dearely tendered as to be referred to a *Committee*; and as it is supposed very like to passe. A point exceeding much conducing to the honour of the *Publicke faith*, which now appears to be of so transcendent & divine a nature, that it would be disparaged and of no esteeme, should it be kept with *Cavaleers*, and *Malignant* Persons. And yet that we may see how strictly they observe the rules of justice (where their owne profit is concerned) and that they have not any respect of persons (when a *Malignants* goods are to be disposed of) it was also certified, that notwithstanding the new *Farmers* of the *Customes* (being men chosen by the House to advance their ends) had paied very deerely for their places, and furnished the said House with great summes of money; yet seeing they were not able to supply them with continuall loanes (on the unquestionable security of the *publique faith*) it was moved last *Saturday*, that others might be put into their places, of more abilities, & fitter for the service of the Commonwealth; which hath put the *Farmers* to devise new shifts and projects to increase the *customes*, but not like to take. As also, that whereas Captaine *Vane*, who was killed at *Reading* in His Majesties service, had given by *Will* his whole estate, amounting to the sum of 4000*l.* unto Sir *Simon Dewes*, his brother, a very serviceable *member* of the House of *Commons*; it was declared and *ordered* by the House of *Commons*, without recourse unto the *Ordinary*, (of whom there will be little use, if this world goe on) being he was killed in *Rebellion* against the *Parliament*, his estate was forfeited, and that Sir *Simon Dewes* should have it on no other termes, then as an *adventurer* unto them. Which as it is an instance of their present justice and a discovery of their purposes for the time to come, so may it give His Majesty a more plausible hint to take into His owne disposing the Lord

Brookes,

Brookes eſtate, and the eſtates of all ſuch perſons who have moſt juſtly periſhed in *Rebellion* againſt him.

SATURDAY. *May* 13.

This day it was advertiſed from *London*, that upon Tueſday *May* 9. A letter came unto the Houſes from the Lord *Fairefax*, wherein was ſignified that the blow given unto their party in *Yorkeſhire*, by the Earle of *New-Caſtle* (whereof you heard the weeke before) amounted to an abſolute defeat, their *Armes* and *Ammunition* being all taken; that by the loſſe of *Rotheram* and *Sheffield* (which followed preſently upon that blow) he was ſo ſurrounded, that he had little hope to keepe *Leedes* and gave all for loſt, except he were immediately ſupplied with 1000 horſe and dragooners, and 10000*l.* in ready money; that he had great want of *Ammunition*, but of powder ſpecially; and that there was no hope of ſupply from *Hull*, partly becauſe the ſtore there was exceeding ſmall, but cheifely in regard the paſſages are ſo obſtructed by taking the aforeſaid two Townes. And it was certified withall, that the Houſes taking into conſideration the lamentable condition of their affaires in the North, entred upon a propoſition (and a fine one too) that every *Ward* in *London* ſhould raiſe a troope of horſe to be ſent downe immediately to the *Lord Fairefax*, and that the Undertakers (or the *Adventurers* rather) ſhould be reimburſed out of the Earle of *New-Caſtles* lands, which they are to have (when they can catch them) at ten yeares purchaſe, (he were a very deſperate man would ſo part with his money) to be eſtated on them (when they have vanquiſhed him, and brought him Priſoner unto *London*) not onely by an *Ordinance* of the two Houſes, but under the Great Seale of *England*, which it is confidently ſaid they are now about to frame.

This day came out in print His Majeſties gracious meſſage to both Houſes of the fifth of *May*, the occaſion this. Some active members of both Houſes finding how great advantage they had made unto themſelves in advancing monies for this warre; under pretence of paſſing Statutes for the releif of *Ire-*

land, had ſent a Bill unto His Majeſtie entituled. *An Act for the ſpeedy payment of monies ſubſcribed towards the releife of the* Rebels *in* Ireland; *which remaine unpaied*, deſiring that His Majeſtie would vouchſafe his aſſent unto it. But His Majeſtie prudently conſidering, what good returnes they had already made of thoſe *Iriſh* voyages, & graciouſly inclined to any expedient by which the ſad condition of that Kingdome might be relieved without increaſing the calamities of this, returned this anſwer: that when he ſhould be ſatisfied, how the great and vaſt ſummes already raiſed by ſeverall Acts of *Parliament* for the releife of *Ireland*, which by thoſe Acts were not to be imployed to any other purpoſe then the reducing of the *Rebels*, had beene expended; when he could be ſecured, that the monies to be raiſed on the *Bill* preſented, ſhould not be diverted for the future, nor imployed againſt him in this Kingdome, and when hee ſhould be ſatisfied in ſome particulars (which are there expreſſed) touching the *Legality* of ſome powers, and clauſes in it, hee would then give an Account to all the World, how ſenſible he was of the miſeries of *Ireland*, and how deſirous to imbrace any probable way which might conduce to their releife: the beſt way to the which he conceived to be a good and bleſſed *Accommodation* of the lamentable diſtractions of this Kingdome, which if the matter of His Majeſties laſt Meſſage (of the 12 of *April*) had beene ſo entertained as His Majeſtie hoped and expected, might by Gods bleſſing in ſhort time have beene brought to paſſe. A very juſt and gracious Anſwer, but ſo diſreliſhed by the *Commons*, that they refuſed to joine in *Conference* with the *Lords* about it, who ſeemed deſirous to embrace His Majeſties offer for the renewing of the *Treaty*.

There had beene a report ſome two daies before, that *Lyn* a principall Port Towne in *Norfolke*, had declared it ſelfe for the King, and received ſome of His Majeſties Forces, for defence of themſelves againſt the *Rebels*: which was this day confirmed by ſeverall Letters and *Advertiſements* received from *London*. And this day alſo came to *Woodſtocke* for His Majeſties ſervice, great ſtore of *Armes* and *Ammunition*

to

to the number of 40 Cart loads or thereabouts, ſent from the Queene to *Newarke*, and from thence for *Oxford*. For the ſafe convoy of the which there came along therewith to *Banbury* (under the command of Mr *Henry Percy*) 26 Troopes of Horſe, beſides *Dragooners*, and 1000 foot, of the which horſe, many returned backe towards *Newarke* having delivered their charge into the hands of the Earle of *Northampton*; the reſidue together, with the foot were to come to *Oxford*, where they are expected upon *Munday*, and then you ſhall heare more of the particulars.

By certaine advertiſement of Letters of *May*. 11. wee are informed, that the Lord *Capell's* owne Troope alone, charged 140 Horſe, and 80 musketeers of the Rebels in *Cheſhire*, and totally routed the horſe, & cut the foot into peices, thoſe few that eſcaped threw away their Armes. Sir *William Brereton* had ſpread abroad a report that he would come out of *Namptwich* and durſt meet the Kings forces in the field, which the Lord *Capell* was very glad to heare of, and therefore on Tueſday laſt drew out part of his forces within halfe a mile of *Namptwich*, where he ſtayed above 5 houres facing the Towne: but Sir *William* was belied, for he durſt not come out of his hole.

This day alſo there came forth a booke called *A Letter to a Gentleman in Leiceſterſhire, ſhewing out of the publicke writings betwixt Hir Majeſtie and the two Houſes, that all the Overtures and Treaties for peace have ſtill proceeded from His Majeſty onely, and in particular that the unſucceſſefulneſſe of the late Treaty is to be imputed to the two Houſes*: as very plainely will appeare by the ſaid Letter enough to ſatisfy any impartiall man.

This day the two Houſes upon a ſerious debate that their money was exhauſted, agreed that an *Exciſe* ſhould be impoſed on *Wine, Beere, Tobacco, &c.* (for the Earle of *Manchеſter* ſaid, *It was of abſolute neceſſity to finde out ſome fountaine to maintaine their Army*) and this they ſhould not call by the odious name of *Exciſe*, for feare the people would grow deſperate and refuſe it, but would have it (forſooth) called a *Rate*, there being in this particular as much difference betweene a *Rate* and an *Exciſe*, as betwixt *Pillaging* and *Plundering*.

dering. And for a taste they imposed 3d to be paid out of every quart of *Wine*, 4s out of every pound of *Spanish Tobacco*, 3s a pound for other *Tobacco*, 1s out of every barrell of *Beere*, and proportionably for *Ale*, &c. and these *Rates* they conceive a gentle beginning, hoping thereby to make the people swallow them, which if they doe, they give their consent to be all beggars: for these new *Raters* will quickly rise higher and sweep away all they have, being already the greatest Monopolizers that ever this poore Kingdome knew.

FINIS.

12

The Truth Of our bad Newes FROM EXETER,

Sent in a Letter, dated *May* 20. 1643. from a conſiderable man there, to an eminent Merchant in *London*:

And may ſerve as a Confutation of our *Malignants* boaſting, who take all advantages to diſcourage the well-affected Party.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Rothwell*, at the Sun in *Pauls* Churchyard. *May* 24. 1643.

Of our bad News

FROM

EXETER,

Sent in a Letter, dated May 20. 1643.

From a considerable man there, to an eminent Merchant in London:

And may serve as a Consultation of our Malignants boasting, who take all advantages to discourage the well-affected Party.

LONDON,

Printed for John Rothwell at the Sun in Paul's Church-yard. 1643.

The truth of our bad Newes FROM EXETER,

Sent from a considerable man there, to an eminent Merchant in *London*;

And may serve as a Confutation of our *Malignants* boasting, who take all advantages to discourage the well-affected Party.

Master Agher,

I Kindly salute you, &c. Yours of the 16. present I received, with the enclosed from our Friend Master *Newgate*; I shall onely intreat you at present

to give conveyance to this incloſed by the next Poſt.

The Parliament forces in theſe parts have on *Tuſeday* laſt received a very great defeat by the *Corniſh*, at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, where were about five thouſand foot, and not one Horſe, they being twenty Miles farther in *Cornwall*, to prevent the raiſing of the countrey upon the *Poſſe Comitatus*. The enemy was foure thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; the fight continued twelve Houres, in all which time our poore Gray-coats and Voluntiers did their parts very manfully; but our baſe cow-hearted trained Souldiers, as ſoone as they came to doe ſervice ran all away, and brought the whole Army into an utter confuſion. *They* had one troope of Horſe, or more, in the Reare, which forced them on to fight; and the reſt of the Horſe ſeeing we had

had none to oppoſe did great ſpoile.

Wee have loſt three hundred men, with thoſe that were taken *Priſoners*, two thouſand Armes, Powder, Mat. h: We had foure thouſand pounds there in Money, which was all preſerved to a ſmall matter.

Our Horſe, being ſixe hundred, and about a thouſand Dragooners, were at *Bodmin* in the midſt of *Cornwall*, where they releaſed an hundred and fifty *Priſoners*, and many countrey people came in to them; but hearing of this deſeat preſently revolted, and began to ſet upon our Horſe; but they behaved themſelves ſo well, that they cleared their way through them, killed many of them, and tooke up Horſes in the countrey and horſt their Priſoners, whom they had ſet free, and are ſafely come to *Plimouth*.

Our ſtrength was ſo great, and ſo well ac-

commodated, that doubtleſſe the hearts of Gods people were too much ſet upon them, and therefore Gods preſence being withdrawne, wee had no more left then an Arme of fleſh.

It hath been apparent ſince theſe troubles began, the Lord hath been pleaſed to worke greater deliverances by weake meanes, then by a powerfull Army; but I confidently beleeve this Victory the enemy hath obtained will but heighten their pride, and make them the more fit for deſtruction, and fleſh them up againſt the day of Slaughter.

God will not be wanting on his part, if we be not wanting on ours.

Yours at command,

Exon. May 20. 1643.

N. E.



A Spirituall

SNAPSACKE

FOR THE

PARLIAMENT SOVLDIERS

CONTAINING,

Cordiall Encouragements, Effectuall Perſwaſions, and hopefull Directions, unto the Succeſſefull proſecution of this preſent CAuſE.

By J. P.

LONDON, May. 24.
Printed for *Henry Overton*, in the Yeare, 1643.

Printed for Henry Overton, in the Year, 1643.

To His Excellence

ROBERT

EARLE OF

ESSEX;

Vilcount *Hereford*, Baron *Ferrars* of *Chartley*, Lord *Bourcheir* and *Lovaine*, One of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Councell, and Generall of the Army raised by the Parliament, in Defence of the true Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, and the Priviledges of *Parliament*.

Right Honourable,



Greatnesse and Goodnesse as they are infinitely in GOD, so in what degree they concenire in Man, they have a God-like Divine influence and power to create Love, and Respect Boldnesse and Reverence in Persons Inferior; Your goodnesse hath made you Great, and your Greatnes (contrary to common Experience) hath made you Good; and both these hath emboldened me humbly to solicite your Excellence, *that this small* Snapsacke, *upon the strictest search of your dilligent Sentinels, and approbation thereof, may freely passe among your Common Souldiers: It is not my presumption to present your* Excellence, *with the broken Morsells Cram'd up therein, knowing that Curious*

Carving fit for such a perſonage, becomes not a Snap ſacke, *and well Conſidering, both your plentifull Supply from your Spirituall Quarter-maſters, and mine owne inſufficiency, being neither a Prophet, nor a Prophets Sonne: but the beſt of my hopes, is your* EXCELLENCIES *permiſſion of its free Portage; and could it procure the light of your countenance, and your Command of it's uſe as a token hereof, it would be to its Author like the* filling of the poore Widowes Veſſells for the Oyle in the Cruce, *a greater reward, then ever was look't for: howſoever, the Eternall God, and our ſucceeding Poſterity ſhall call you bleſſed for your Love, Zeale, and Courage, in Gods and your Countries Cauſe: And that the Almighty may not onely make you a* Moſes, to lead his *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, and bring you to Mount *Nebo* in the ſight of the good Land; *But a* Ioſhuah *to bring them into the Poſſeſſion thereof, removing all Obſtacles, ſupplying all wants, in your way; fill you withall the divine qualifications of the worthies of Iſrael*; make you Strong and of good Courage, bee with you, never leave you nor forſake you, *is the earneſt Prayer, as of many thouſands the Iſraelites of* GOD, *ſo amongſt them, of your* EXCELLENCIES *moſt humbly Devoted, Vnworthy, whoſe Name ſhould be Spel'd out,*

J. P.

A SPIRITVALL SNAPSACKE FOR THE PARLIAMENT SOVLDIERS.

MAN is borne to sorrow, because borne in sinne, and his insensible security is his chiefest misery; common Souldiers and common Saylors are most commonly under the shadow of death, and seldome mindefull of another life; the consideration whereof, is the ground of our present discourse; wherein as brevitie must be our practice; because many morsells must be cram'd up in a small Snapsack; so spiritualitie must be our Subject for these Reasons:

First, because the Souldiers for whom this is chiefly intended, have a spirituall Palate, the bread of life is their Hony-comb, and Angells food their fare, Gods word is their delight, and all their well Springs are therein, (a rare thing in common Souldiers.)

Secondly, because they cannot come to the common Markets where this Provision is to be had, this is their sorrow, but not their sinne; Gods Ordinances are rarely in the Souldiers march, and therefore a little in the Snapsack will doe some good, for *to the hungry stomack every bitter thing is sweet.*

Thirdly, through constant want of wholsome dyet, corrupt food may doe some hurt, I meane the body of sinne within: and evill Company without, proves bitter to an honest minde, to *dwell in Kedar is no woe*, and *to march in Mesech his complaint.*

Fourthly, because they are subject to many sorrowes, for *good Souldiers must*

endure hardneſſe, cold and hunger: Wounds and Sores are commonly the Souldiers ſhare, ſpirituall refection will beare them up, the waters of Life proves Cordiall in fainting fits, and in outward troubles inward comfort refreſheth the minde.

But leaſt we ſhould be longer in untying the ſtrings; then your ſtomacks will beare (being ſharp ſet) roule theſe conſiderations as ſo many ſweet morſells under your tongue, to beare up your hearts in your hardeſt worke.

First, you HAVE A GOOD CAUSE (a ſingular incouragement to a pious minde) amongſt all other cauſes that ever drew Armies into the field, yours for goodneſſe hath the precedencie; and this will appeare by theſe particulars.

First it is a moſt *cleare and candid cauſe*, whoſe ſhining beauty and refined perſpicuity amongſt all other cauſes, is like the Sunne in the Firmament. It is not my purpoſe to anſwer ſcruples about the cleareneſſe of the Cauſe, they for whom this is provided, are not to ſeeke in this particular, the Swords in their hands argues the cleareneſſe of their Judgements herein, neither are they ſingular in this opinion; all the Godly, Learned, and conſcientious Miniſters, and people of the Kingdome will joyne iſſue with them herein; ſatisfaction herein from learned Orthodoxe, and godly Divines in this particular hath bin like the *waters of Iordan in the time of harveſt*: witneſſe, *Goodwins* Anticaval: ſeverall Anſwers to Dr. *Fearne*, a late Treatiſe made by many Godly Miniſters, in juſtification of Defenſive Armes, and few there are of the contrary judgement, but Papiſts, Athieſts, Prælates, Delinquents, and prophane wretches (excepting ſuch who may exchange their eye-ſight with *Balaams* Aſſe) and cannot ſee the drawne ſword of ruine or ſlavery in their baſe ſubmiſſion to the adverſe party.

Secondly, as the Cauſe is *cleare*, ſo it is A MOST FULL AND GENERALL CAUSE, ſoule and body in all their preſent concernments are deeply intereſſed in the ſame.

First for Matters of the Soule conſider:

First, *you fight for God*, who will therefore fight for you. *the Battell is his*, the Victory therefore ſhall be yours, *mighty in Battell* is God for you. Couragious in Battell be you for Him, you fight for Him; whoſe glorious Attributes will be unto you a *munition of Rocks* 33. *Eſay* 16. You fight for Him whoſe glorious name will be unto you a ſtrong Tower, *Prov.* 18. 10. You fight for Him, at whoſe Command is Heaven and Earth for your defence; you fight for Him who hath divided the Seas for paſſage, *Exod.* 14. 21. ſmitten Rocks for drinke. *Exodus* 17. 6. given Angells food for meat. *Exod.* 16. 14. Who hath made the Mountaines to skip like Rams, and the little Hills like Lambs, 114. *Pſal.* 6. Who hath bound Kings in chaines and Nobles in Fetters of Iron, *Pſal.* 149. 8. Who hath rebuked Kings and deſtroyed mighty Princes in the behalf of thoſe that fought for him; you fight for Him in whoſe hands is the breath of your noſtrills and all your wayes, & without whoſe Providence not one hair of your head ſhall fall to the ground; Who can protect in Battells, ſucceed Battells, reſtore loſſes, make up breaches, and give you an inheritance and Crowne with glory, who would not fight for ſuch a God?

Secondly,

Secondly, *you fight for Jesus Christ*, who hath fought with Heaven and Earth, and Hell for you, who became *sinne* to make you *righteousnesse*, and a *Curse* to make you a *blessing*; who gave Glory for shame, Life for death, Joy for sorrow, that you may exchange shame for Glory; death for Life; and sorrow for Joy; broken for our sinnes was hee, that your breaches may be made up, crushe was Jesus Christ for you, that you might once be crowned with him; you fight for that Jesus which is the God of Glory, the Lord of Hoasts the Head of Angells, the Heir of Heaven, the Prince of Peace, whose everlasting thoughts, eternall purposes, timely actions, most bitter passions, whose present worke at the throne of Grace, whose all in all, was and is and ever shall be, for your present and eternall good; and who would not fight for such a Jesus?

Thirdly, *you fight for the Holy Ghost*, his worke in the World in the hearts of the Saints, is the great Controversie between you and your Adversaries. God in you is their malice against you, you fight for that spirit that fills you with joy unspeakeable, and full of Glory: by which you are sealed to the day of Redemption, *Ephes.* 4. 30. by which you are comforted in all your tribulations, *Iohn* 14. which maketh you meete for the inheritance with the Saints in light, 1 *Col.* 12. which *stayeth you with Flagons, and comforteth you with Apples*, 2 *Cant.* 5. affording such meat which the World knowes not of, which shall be as Rivers of water in a dry place, and as the shadow of a mighty Rock in a weary Land, whose inward heat of life and joy shall (like the fire in the Temple) never be extinct.

Fourthly, you fight for the glorious Gospell of Jesus Christ, and the through-fare thereof in your Native Country: that Gospell that hath brought life and immortalitie to light, which hath discovered bowells of Grace in God to you from all eternity, the treasure of Comfort, the vision of Heaven, the support of Saints, the rule of life, the way of Peace, the path to Glory.

Fifthly, you fight for Sion and all her priviledges, for Sion and her Ordinances, for Sion and her children, for Sion, the house of God, 76. *Psal.* 2. the Arke of God, the Temple of God, the joy of God, 132. *Psal.* 13. the perfection of beautie, 50. *Psal.* 2. for Sion the Subject of Gods love, 87. *Psal.* 2. of his desire, 132. *Psal.* 14. of his Jelousie, 8 *Zachary* 2. the friend, the Sister, the Spouse of Christ, for Sion which whosoever hateth shall be turned backward 129. *Psal.* 5. to favour whose dust is an acceptable service in the sight of God.

Thus you see the fulnesse and generality of the Cause, in respect of the soule, you fight for the God of Grace, for Jesus Christ the gift of Grace, the spirit of Grace; the Gospell of Grace and the children of Grace.

Secondly, see the fulnesse of the Cause in respect of the outward man, in many particulars.

First, you fight for your King (though this be esteemed a Paradox, a Riddle, a lye, a scorne, because it is contrary to his Commands, and his Person is with those against whom you fight, and so in danger) yet first you take up Armes in, under, and for the defence of his lawfull Authority setled in Parliament, and not among Cavaliers, against those whose endeavours are

to

to destroy the Parliament, and Lawes of the Land, and consequently all his Royall and lawfull authority? and to either to unking and dethrone him, or make him a Tyrant, the high way to ruine him, by exposing him to the wrath of God, and the dangerous hazards of a Tyrannicall Government, which are commonly stabs, poyson, plots, and Treasons.

You fight for his Authority which is greater then his *personall Command*, if he should personally command to murther, which is forbidden by his Authoritie; which would be most disloyall, he that disobeyeth the one, or the other? the King saith he will rule us by *Law*, and make his *will* that Law, though it be in things contrary to *knowne Lawes*, and you fight against his will, because contrary to his *Authority*, which is greater than his *Will*, the party you fight against rebut his lawfull *Authoritie*, you his *corrupt Will*, they his *power*, you his *Command*, they withstand him as a King, you as a *man*, who are the greater Rebells? his *deliberate Will* is in *Parliament*, signified by his *Writ*, and *act of continuance*, his *passionate will* is in his *Camp* signified by his Commands, that you should not obey *his will* in Parliament, what will you doe? you will say he is not present in Parliament, therefore the third Estate which is essentiall thereunto is gone and, so there is a dissolution of the whole. I answer his *power* is there though not his *Person*. he is not in his inferiour Courts personally, but vertually, and so he is in Parliament his *Person* may die, but not his *power*, you are proclaimed Traitors by his *mouth*, your Enemies by his *Law*, you by his *Person*, they by his *power*, you are proclaimed Traitors; but what is the Treason? you will not quietly let your throats be cut, nor suffer the Parliament to be destroyed, you will not advance Prerogative above Law, nor permit an Army of Theives to take away all you have without resistance, you will not destroy the Kings lawfull Authority by submitting your selves to his unlawfull Commands; you will not permit cursed men to destroy the Parliament as *Doeg* at *Sauls* tyrannicall command did destroy the Lords Priests, 1 *Sam.* 22 18 but defend them from slaughter, as *David* did *Abiathar* v. 23. in a word, you will not be made slaves, but say you are free borne, and this is Treason; how prove you that? why *your Enemies* call it so?

2. You fight for the recovery of his Royall Person out of the hands of those miscreants, and reinstate Him in his Royall Throne and Dignity, that both He and his Posteritie (if God will) may yet flourish in their Royalties, so that notwithstanding all contradictions you fight for your King.

Secondly, you fight for your Countrie, for the peace of it against the great disturbers thereof. 2. For the plentie of it against the Plunderers, robbers, spoylers, destroyers thereof. 3. For the Libertie of it, the Lawes, power and Priviledges thereof in Parl. our Nationall Inheritance. 4. For all your common Interests in any thing you enjoy, your Houses, Lands, Estates, Callings, what ever you have is lost if the day be lost. 5. You fight for your neerest relations, your Wives and poore children, who are undone if you give up the Cause: if the Principles of Heathens have rendered them valiant for their Countries good, and their Valour famous to succeeding posteritie; shall not the Principles of piety be stronger in Christians? thus you have a good cause, it is clearely good, it is fully good, for God, your King, your Countrey, in all

their reflections, never the like cause (all things considered) from the beginning of the World untill this day.

Secondly, as you have a good Cause; so consider WHAT A LIFE GUARD God hath set about you for your security.

First, *God himselfe is your Life guard*, 52. Esay 12. *the Lord shall go before you, and the God of Israell shall be your Reereward*, there is God in Front and Reare, he shall be unto you a munition of Rocks, 33. Esay, 15, 16. *He that walketh righteously &c. he shall dwell on high, his place of Defence shall be a munition of Rocks*, and the Church is said to dwell in the clefts of the Rocks, 2 Canticles 14. and *the name of the Lord is a strong Tower* Prov. 18. 10. a little Sanctuary will God be unto you, 11. Ezekiell 16. He will be a shield, a buckler, a strong Tower, a Refuge, a Defence, against the terrour of the night, the arrow or bullet that flieth in the day: Psal. 91. 5. what though *Ammon and Gebal, Edom and Ismaell, Moab and the Agarims, what though Amaleck and the Philistims, Assur and the Children of Lot*; though Papists and Atheists, and all their Allyes: though France and Spaine, though Turke and Pope, though all the World should *compasse you about like Bees*; yet *if the Lord be your strength and refuge, he will become your song and your salvation*, Psal. 118. 12. was not God thus unto you at *Keynton* Battell? to the amazement of your Enemies? and the joy of your hearts? when the instruments of death went over you, and about you, and scarce touch'd any of you that stood to the Cause, and did not flye away: when thousands fell on each side of you and you were preserved; doe not your hearts leape at the remembrance of it? did not the Lord appeare at that day glorious in holines, fearefull in praises, working wonders? did not the Mountaines skip like Rams, and the little Hills like young sheep at that day? did you not hew downe mighty Cedars at that day? did not God throw downe Mountaines, and fill up Vallies for you at that day? when hee brought you to *Pihahiroth* the very mouth of straights, as he did the Israelites, Exod. 14. 2. when your Enemies thought you *were entangled*, and when they cryed, *we will persue, we will overtake, we will devide the spoyle, our lusts shall bee satisfied, our Sword shall devoure &c.* Exod. 15. 9. then did the Lord blow with his wind and the waters and waves of his wrath did overwhelme them, and they lay weltering in the red Sea of their owne blood: was not this a token that your cause was good, and your Enemies bad? when those of you that fled, were slaine, and those that stood to it were preserved? and those of your Enemies that stood to it perished, and those that fled escaped? how did GOD the Father protect you with his attributes? how did God the Sonne surround you (as it were) with his merits? and intrench you with his bloud? how did God the Holy Ghost cheer you with his comforts? working your hearts to a holy extasie of joy, making you (like *David*, when he danced before the Arke) to forget your selves, and upon the discharge of your Muskets to cry out in holy and spirituall rapture, *now for Iesus Christ, now for the Gospell, now lets see what prayer can doe &c.* when you were in the vallies of the shadow of death, yet did you not feare: and hath not God gon all along with you ever since? hath not God alwayes as before *Ephraim Benjamin*, and *Manasses* stird up his strength, and came and holpen you from time to

time? as the *Psalmist* hath it. 80. *Psalm*. 2. alluding to these three Tribes which went immediately after the Arke, 2 *Numb*. 17. and 18. consider therefore God the Fountaine of life, the great Preserver of men, the upholder of all things by the word of his power is your Life-guard.

Secondly, *you have a guard of Angells to attend you*, 34. *Psalm*. 7. the Angels of the Lord pitch their Tents round about them that feare him, and delivereth them; yea the Charets of God are twentie thousand thousands of Angells, and God is amongst them for your security, 68. *Psalme* 17. God shall give his Angells charge over you to keepe you in all your wayes, 91. *Psalme* 11. little doe you know what Charets and Horsemen there are in the Mount readie to fight for you, when you come to battell, 2 *Kings* 6. 15. 16. 17. God hath legions of Angells to come to fight for you when you call upon him in the day of Battell, *Matth*. 26. 53. tender is God over you to give his Angells for your guard, and his Ministers a flame of fire round about you, can you miscarry with such a Life guard?

Thirdly, consider you *have a guard of promises to attend you, where ever you go*, first *the promises of military dexterity*, that *God will teach your hands to warre, and your fingers to fight and of protection* that *he will cover your heads in the day of Battell*: 144. *Psalme* 1. you have been looked upon as an unskilfull meeke, pusillanimous Dove-like spirited people, and indeed so you are, but hath not God given you the skill, courage and valour as of mighty Princes, and made old Souldiers, flie like hares and hide their heads from you? to their terrour and your wonder; that ever you should have such capacitie for such services so unsuitable to your genuine temper.

Secondly, *you have the promises of* provision and plentie, that though the Lions lack and suffer hunger, yet you that feare the Lord shall want nothing that is good for you, 34. *Psalme* 10. in your march towards *Canaan* to worship God, (for that is your case) rather then you shall want, if you bee upright and ingenuous in the cause purely for God, he will smite Rocks for you spread Tables in the Wildernesse, feed you with Angells food, the delicates of Heaven, the upper springs, *dulcius è fonte*, you shall have the very well of Life for your refreshment.

Thirdly, *you have the promises of victory*, that one shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight, 32. *Deutro*. 30 that if your Enemies come one way they shall flie from you seven waies, that no Sword nor Weapon that is framed against you shall prosper, 54. *Esay* 17. that God will make his Church and People his battell Axe and Weapons of Warfare to breake in pieces the Nations of the Earth, 51. *Jeremy* 20, 21. &c. and that God will make his people a new sharp threshing instrument, having teeth to thrash the Mountaines, and to beate them small, and to make the hills as chaffe *Esay* 41. 15. that the Stone cut out without hands shall be that Kingdome, viz. of Christ, that shall never be destroyed, but shall destroy all Kingdomes and people that shall rise up against it, 2 *Daniel* 44. 45. that God will binde Kings in chaines, and Nobles in Fetters of Iron, *Psalme* 149. 8. 9. and to execute upon them the judgement written, this honour have all his Saints. You may expect all these promises to be fulfilled, and the face of things doe

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looke as if they were now in fulfilling, and they must bee fulfilled in and about that very cause which you have in hand: and why may we not believe but that even now the day of vengeance is in Gods hand, and the yeare of his redeemed is come?

4. *You have a guard of prayers round about you*, millions of prayers like *a Cloud of incense*, *Lev.* 16. 13. doe alwaies hang over you, and hover about you, the Prayers of many generations that went before you; you shall reap in joy what they have sowen in Teares; little doe you know the many thousands of prayers night and day in your behalfe, when you happily have not opportunity, nor company, nor place of conveniency to poure out your hearts before the Lord. What are these great Victories and wonderfull deliverances vouchsafed unto you, but the returne of prayers in your behalfe? that you so often prosper fighting in the valley is, because so many *Moseses* and *Hurs* are praying in the Mount.

Lastly, consider *you have a guard of providences* for your defence; all transactions of all passages shall still be loaded with your security: *the Sunne is willing to stand still in Gideon, and the Moone in the Valley of Dialon.* The Sea will as gladly run backward, as forward for your deliverance. The Creatures delight to doe your service: if God doth at any time bring you to straights, it is for nothing, but to shew his power and love for your defence: if hee brings you to such a posture as that you can doe nothing but *stand still*, it is onely to shew you and the whole World, *the salvation of God.*

Thus you have a good first cause, and Secondly, a sure life Guard you have, God, his Angells, his Promises, the Prayers of the Saints, and all providences for your incouragement.

Thirdly, Consider *the many infallible intimations, as so many predictions from heaven of your successe*, which are a thousand times more promising then *Eliahs* Cloud, 1 *Kin.* 18. 44. of great Raine, or an Evening red and lowring Skie, of a succeeding faire day, *Mat.* 16. 3.

First, *the Spirit of Prayer and Supplication, is abundantly powred forth upon all the Saints in your behalfe.* An infallible signe of your successe. The Cloud of Incense *Leviticus* the 16. 13. which are the prayers of the Saints, as will appeare by comparing that place, 141. *Psal.* 2. is the Cloud of his presence: and a little cloud of that nature, though but so big as *Eliahs* hand presageth a plentifull shoure of heavenly blessings upon your heads. When God prepareth *Daniels* heart to pray, Sions captivity is at an end, *Dan.* 9. 4. Hee that prepareth the heart to pray, will cause his eare to heare. *Psal.* 10. 17 such prayers, and teares, such sighs, and groanes, such surrounding the Throne of grace, in publique, in private, in season, out of season, was never knowne since *Adams* daies, as are now in your behalfe. How many thousand lies in the gap in your behalfe? every Jacob is become an Israell in your cause, can you thinke you shall miscarry?

Secondly, *The Spirit of Faith and confidence of your successe in this cause, is powred forth upon all the Saints*, and this also is a certaine *Omen* of your prosperity: when God doth draw out the hearts of men to believe and to hope in his mercy, it is a ground of strengthening their hearts, for then will he preserve the faithfull

and plentifully reward the proud doer, *Psal.* 31. 23. the Lord shall help, deliver, and save his people, because they trust in him, *Psal.* 37. 40. should God enable men to hope, and trust in him, and that upon Evangelicall and Divine grounds, and faile them, how would he dishonour his son? prejudice his faithfullnesse? and discourage his people? nor certainly as the unbeliefe of the Israelites was a provoking cause of Gods displeasure against them: so the confidence of his people in this cause, is most acceptable in his sight, and a certaine signe of good successe.

Thirdly, Consider, *God hath stirred up the heart of the State of the Kingdom*, viz: *the Parliament, and to so be out and endeavour after a Reformation* of all things that they can find displeasing unto God, another most infallible and promising token of your successe: we shall most commonly find, that humiliation, repentance, and Reformation in a people, have bin signes of mercy towards a people.

It is true, we have an instance in Scripture of a most sweet and glorious Reformation in matters of Idolatry and prophanesse, viz: the Reformation of *Iosiah*, 2 *Chron.* 35. and yet notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fiercenesse of his great wrath wherewith he was angry against *Iudah*, &c. 2 *Kin.* 23. 26. but yet there was a great deale of difference betwixt that Reformation and ours. For, first *that Reformation was began by the King*, and so he compelled the people by his Regall power hereunto: but *this Reformation is from the people*, taking the first lawfull and best advantage from the constitution of the Kingdome to take up Armes in and under the Kings power and authority, setled in Parliament and consequently by his command virtuall, though not personall, so that that Reformation of *Iosiah* was by compulsion upon the people, whereunto they yeelded for feare: but this Reformation is even from the people out of love, though with the hazard even of the Kings displeasure. Secondly, when GOD doth afflict a people from his former displeasure, yet there is *commonly some new sin which comes in as a mediation*, and so provoketh *God* to remember the old score: thus when Gods anger was stirred up against Israell, the Devill moved *David* to number the people, 1 *Chron.* 21. 1. But heare we find no such thing, as any new Nationall sin, viz: any act of the State authorizing sin, and the good Lord keep our Parliament from such a thing: we see rather that it is not because we have sinned that our enemies quarrell with us, but because wee will not sinne: our enemies quarrell against us, is not because we have bin or are prophane in our lives, Idolatrous in our Worship, but because we will not be so for if we would joyn with them in these abominations, we should quickly be at peace with them, so that the very fourse and rise of the wars, is the glory of God, and blessed be his Name that the cause is the Lords, and that wee can plead that before him, otherwise we might give our selves for lost.

Thirdly, the Affliction and judgement upon *Iudah* (the fruit of old displeasure against them for the blood of the Saints spilt in *Manasiah* his daies) was *the taking away of good* Iosiah *from them by* Pharoah Neco *King of Egypt* who slew him at *Megiddo*, 2 *King.* 23. 29. so that God tooke *away the Reformer* from them, and so way is made for judgement upon them. But *now God increaseth the number of Reformers*, and hath so graciously opened the eyes of our Worthies

thies in matters offensive unto GOD, as that they have done that which I am perswaded they never purposed to doe. Not in the particulars, but onely to fulfill the whole mind of God as he should reveale it unto them. And therefore notwithstanding this instance, we have still good hope from the Reformation begun: that God will own it, and the Temple shall be built though they build fighting, and that God will bring his people into Canaan, though their enimies hearts are hardened, and persue them with full purposes to destroy them. Yet their ruine will be both seasonable and certaine.

Fourthly, Consider *The parties against whom you fight*, are a most *Idolatrous, Superstitious, Delinquent, Prophane, Ignorant, or Hypocriticall* Generation, take them where you will, from one degree to another, and you may fitly ranke them under some of those unworthy denominations; for either they are Papists, and so *Idolatrous*; Prælaticall, and so *Superstitious*; Offendors of severall kinds, and so *Delinquents*; Men of cursing, deboist, lips and lives, and so *Prophane*; Men so incredibly besotted, as to believe that the Gospell, the Kingdome, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, the Priviledges of *Parliament*, the Execution of Justice, the common peace and good of all is the onely Crowne, that these men fight for, and that you fight against these; which argues, the very sensible thicknesse of *Ignorance*; or else lastly, God and their own Consciences can, and doe, and one day will evidence to their everlasting shame, disgrace, and torment, that they are as base dissembling *Hypocrites*, as ever could be found among those Scribes and Pharisees, against whom their are so many woes denounced, *Mat.* 23. 13. well, look upon your Enemies, they are the very worst of sinners, such as we thought could scarce have bin consistent with *English* Ingenuity. God hath seem'd to gather the very scum of all sorts and qualities of men together, whether they be Men of high or low degree, and although their intention is to *destroy Sion*, 4. *Micha.* 10. and though they say wee will now make an end of them at once and happily sweare and curse that not a Roundhead (as foolishly they call Gods people) shall be left in the Kingdom, yet *Gods* purpose may be the same measure unto them, as they intended unto us, 4 *Micha.* 12. Namely, to thrash them, and even to breake them in pieces. Your enemies are a people most ripe for judgement, they doe as it were invite the Sickle of Gods wrath to cut them downe. The sinnes of the *Amorites* are full, some of them are as it were rotten Ripe, and so have dropt downe before the time that God will shake them downe together.

Thinke you that this Generation of Men shall bee your ruine? That the Stubble shall destroy the fire? Nay that hell shall ruine Heaven? and the Devill himselfe shall destroy the workes of Christ, in revenge that Christ once came to destroy the works of the Devill? No let us cast away such surmisings, and verily believe that the wickednesse of the wicked shall come to a perpetuall end, and their owne devises will GOD make to fall upon their owne pates.

Fifthly, Consider, *God hath drawne the eyes of the whole World, as it were upon his proceedings in this cause*, and hath invited them to wait upon, and seriously to consider the issue and upshot of all; now when he causeth men to marke and consider the upright; it is to shew *that the end of these men is peace*, 37. *Ps.* 37. he hath

hath drawn the eyes of all the pious and godly in the World, and this he rarely doth, except it be to ſhew them the ſalvation of God, 14. *Exo.* 13. Hee hath drawn the eyes of the wicked to looke upon the ſucceſſe of the quarrell, and this he rarely doth, except it be to let them know that God the Lord, is *Iſrael's* God, and to make them confeſſe that *there is a reward for the righteous*, & that *verily there is a God that judgeth the Earth*, *Pſal.* 58. 11. When the Lord did draw the eyes of the Iſraelites, and the Philiſtims together to try a ſingle combate, betweene *Goliah* and *David*, 1 *Sam.* 17. though *Goliah* was for ſtrength, for greatneſſe and bigneſſe of perſon, for ſcarceneſſe, for weapons every way incomparable with *David*, yet this act of Gods providence in drawing men together to ſee the duell was to *let all that Aſſembly know, that the Lord ſaveth not by Sword nor Speare, for the battell is the Lords, and that hee would give that uncircumciſed Philiſtim into Davids hands*, ver. the 47. and ſo hath God done already, he hath made little ſtriplings, *London* Boyes as they call them, the ruine and downfall of the ſcornes of *Dauid*, and many *Goliahs* who hath come out againſt them with blaſpheming tongues, and ratling lips, ſhaking Locks, and ſparkling eyes, have fallen by their hands. Can you thinke that ever God ſhould call all men to looke and gaze, and wait for the ſucceſſe of this preſent controverſie, wherein his glory is every way ſo concern'd, and leave his people to the worſt? Did he ever doe ſuch a thing as this? Teſtifie againſt God, O thou doubting *Iſraelite*, did ever God doe ſuch a thing as this? Would he not hereby diſcourage all men that come vnto him? And ſcare away all men that incline towards him? A thing, which his Soule abhorres.

Sixtly, Conſider *how Gods name is every way ingaged in this quarrell*; a pregnant *omen* of bleſſed ſucceſſe. It is true, we are a people, (ſimply conſidered in our ſelves) fitted for judgement, having all, yea, and more provocations of Gods diſpleaſure againſt us, then ever any people that profeſſed the name of Chriſt, or could hope for mercy, barrennesſe under ſo much meanes, abuſe of ſo much grace, ſlighting of ſo much Judgement, ſinning againſt ſo much experience, hath ſcarce beene found amongſt any that ever profeſſed the Name of Chriſt, whoſe preſent ruines doth teſtifie Gods ſore diſpleaſure againſt them for theſe things; and the good Lord give theſe thoughts of our owne abominations, a ſeaſonable, ſuitable, and pious Evangelicall operation upon our Spirits: but yet notwithſtanding though this might move God againſt us, yet this is not that which hath moved our Enemies againſt us; no, it is becauſe we are Gods people and Sheepe of his paſture, that theſe Wolves worry us; it is becauſe we deſire to repent and reforme, and will not joyne with them in all curſed waies of Idolatry and prophaneſſe; it is becauſe we would now worſhip God according to his will, and have no King in matters of our Conſciences but Jeſus Chriſt, that our enemies are ſo full of venome, fury, and madnes againſt us; and can we thinke that God will decline ſuch a cauſe as this? Did ever doe ſuch a thing? Looke upon all the cauſes in the World, was he ever more engaged, nay ſo fully and circumſtantially engaged in any as in this? how will his Name be blaſphemed amongſt them, if he ſhould doe thus? Would they not rather ſay that your God is not able to help, and ſo mocke us and jeere us, and ſay, where are your Prayers, and your Faſtings? and your hope? and

your faith? and Your God? or that God is the God of Papists, and Atheists, and Blasphemers, *&c.* and not the God of *Israell*? and can his sacred eares abide such language as this? No surely, so long as we have *Ioshua's* argument to plead, *Lord what wilt thou doe with thy great name?* Josh. 7. 9. surely the end shall be good, and Israel shall have the day.

Seventhly, Consider, *Your Enemies have begun to fall already*, and this *Hannah* wise tooke as a sad *Omen* of her Husbands ruine, *Hest.* 6. 13 and God hath begun to deliver us, and this was also a good *omen* and blessed incouragement unto *David*, 1 *Sam.* 17. 35, 36. and both these may be the like unto us. How have our enemies falne at *Edge-hill*? at *Winchester*? at *Chichester*? at *Gloucester*? at *Dorchester*, at *Stafford*, at *Caversham* neere *Reading*, and in many other places, how hath he discovered their plots? infatuated their Councels? and blown up all their designes, *given them all barren wombs, and dry brests*, and how hath God also delivered us, and driven backe multitudes of our enemies by little handfulls, to the glory of his name, and the gnashing of the teeth of the Enemie, and their perpetuall shame and scorne, let this also give you plentifull incouragement of good successe.

And therefore in the Eigth place, *Consider the consequences of any losse you shall sustaine in this Service*; it is true, all experience witnesseth that *all things* in externall providences *falls out alike unto all men*, and that no man can know either *love or hatred*: *viz.* of God, by any occurrences that *are before them*, *Eccl.* 9. 1, 2. even a *Ionathan*, a *Iosiah*, may fall in the day of Battell as well as others; but yet there are very many cordiall incouragements in respect of any consequences whatsoever. Consider, suppose you should lose a leg, an Arme, and Eye, *&c.* have you not carried your lives in your hands, willing to surrender all up unto God, and are you affraid lest God should take you at your word? You offer your life, and he takes but a Limbe, and is this your complaint? or doe you thinke that being dismembred in Christ cause, he will not know you; is the badge of Honour (the markes of Christ) your feare. Doe you thinke that that eye, or arme, or limbe which you loose for Christ shall be forgotten, and not found at the day of your Resurrection, but that it shall be a flaw in Gods Jewels even to all eternity? shall a Cup of *cold water* in Christ cause, given, be remembred, and the blood of your veines, an arme, an eye, a leg be forgotten? Is doing for Christ so esteemed, and suffering for Christ so slighted, suppose you loose your lives in the cause, have you not offered them, and are you afraid lest God should accept of your offering? are you troubled least you should goe to God too soone, doe you feare your Crowne of glorie should be too heavie, and make your head ake at that day? are you fearefull of being *chiefe in the Kingdome of God*? and of having part in the *first Resurrection*? are you afraid you shall sit too neere unto Jesus Christ in Heaven? is his *right hand* in his glory your jealousie? be not discouraged, your losses shall be gaine, and the degrees of the one shall answer the degrees of the other, God will be unto you our Wives, and Children like himselfe in a way of recompence, for your *afflictions* you shall have *glory*; for your *light* afflictions *weight* of glory, for your *short* afflictions *eternity* of glory, for your *very light* afflictions a *farre exceeding eternall* weight of glory 2 *Cor.* 4. 17.

let

let all theſe incouragements fill your hearts with a holy boldneſſe, and Confidence, Valour and Reſolution, to goe on, and to follow God fully in the mannaging of this Cauſe; and becauſe Dignitie doth alwayes imply Duties and Knowledge practice, take theſe few Directions for your more hopefull Succeſſe and comfortable proceeding in this Warfare.

First in the mannaging of this outward Warfare, *do not forget your more conſiderable inward and ſpirituall Warfare*; it is a ſad and bitter thing to ſee how few Souldiers minde this thing, nay to ſee men (who before they entred into this Condition were ſeemingly Religious Modeſt, Sober, Temperate men) ſo exceedingly changed unto worſe, that few would believe they were the ſame men; what a ſad thing is it, to ſee mad men dance about the brincke and pit of ruine, without care or feare, alas! you are in danger of Death every moment, you know you walke in the Valley of the ſhadow thereof, if you have not Intereſt in Chriſt, your caſe is ſad, if you have, and yet a guilty Conſcience of a looſe and careleſſe and negligent life and Converſation; alas! how can you expire, and breath out your ſoules into the hands of God with a cheerefull and comfortable Spirit? ſuppoſe you prove Victorious, and proſper in all your deſignes (which the Lord grant) yet what advantage will you have by gaining without, and looſing within? what will the ſpoyles of your Enemies advantage you, when Sathan ſhall ſpoile your inward Treaſures? what is it to lead your Enemies into Captivitie; when your owne ſoules are lead into Spirituall bondage by the Divell himſelfe? what is it that you let out the bloud of your Enemies, when your vitall blood of inward ſtrength and Communion with God ſeemes to waſte? that you ſurround your Enemies, when your ſelves are ſurrounded with your ſpirituall Adverſaries, and therefore put on the whole Armour that you may be able to ſtand in the evill day, and having done all to ſtand ſtill, wreſtling with Principalities and power, the Rulers of the darkneſſe of this World, and ſpirituall wickedneſſe in high places, *Epheſ.*6. 11. 12.

Secondly, remember the adviſe of our Lord Jeſus in the 3. of *Luke* 14. *doe no violence to no man, accuſe no man falſly, and be content with your wages.*

1. *Doe violence to no man*, nay, put no man in feare: Courage, and meekneſſe, ſtoutneſſe and tenderneſſe of Spirit, Reſolution and love, mingled and well tempered together makes a man meet to fight under Chriſts banner: if a man wants Courage his Enemies will not feare him; if meekeneſſe, his owne Souldiers will not love him; had there been more Courage, ſtoutneſſe, and Reſolution both in Commanders and Souldiers, there had not beene ſuch flying away at *Edge Hill*; had there been more meekneſſe, tenderneſſe of Spirit and love, eſpecially in Commanders, happily there had not then ſo many of their owne Souldiers deſerted them, and got away from them; looke upon Jeſus Chriſt, who for his meekneſſe and love, to thoſe that fight under Him, is called a Lambe, a Dove &c. and for Courage, ſtoutneſſe, and Reſolution is called the Lion of the Tribe of *Judah*; a cowardiſe milkſop in the day of Battell, and a paſſionate hot-ſpurre in his owne Quarters, doth ill become a Souldier of Chriſt.

The ſecond Rule of Chriſt is, *accuſe no man falſly*, a thing as common as ſinfull

ſinnefull among Souldiers, to accuſe men of malignitie, that they may the more colourably plunder them; and ſo take away both mens Eſtates, and good name at once; Juſtice and Righteouſneſſe doth as well become a Souldier as a Citizen; and the accompt of both before God ſhall be alike.

The third Rule of Chriſt is, *be content with your wages.* As Covetouſnes doth alwayes ill become a Souldier: ſo eſpecially in this particular Cauſe and quarrell: for conſider, firſt *this Cauſe is for the exaltation of Jeſus Chriſt,* and therefore thoſe who looke for comfort from the Cauſe, and Succeſſe therein, muſt aime at Him, and not to themſelves; if your aimes be pure for Him, He will ſee your pay good in due time.

Secondly, you pretend the righteouſneſſe of the Cauſe, and not the benefit of the Warre that ſets you on worke, but is it ſo indeed? Come ſee my zeale for God ſaith *Iehu*: for the Throne ſaith God, and his owne Conſcience. *Iudas* did ſeemingly forſake all and follow Chriſt, but the benefit of the bagg was his hand and hopes. When precious oyntment was ſpent upon Chriſt, he pleaded for the purſe under the notion of the poore, for his owne baſe ends under the colour of Charitie, are you for the Cauſe indeed? what, and not *content with your Wages*? yes, with all our hearts if wee could get it, ſaith the common Souldiers. How have you wanted it, by the deceit of Officers, ſaith the common Voat: who like the unjuſt Steward in the Goſpell, which cozened his Maſter by his accompts; write upon the muſtering dayes a hundred for fourteſcore, and fourteſcore for fifty, who makes as little Conſcience of lying for money, as of telling the money they lied for. I give not the lye to Noble Souldiers; but to baſe diſſemblers: and to bee offended at theſe words is, (as the dipping of *Iudas* his finger in his Maſters diſh) a certaine ſigne that that man will betray the Cauſe, if he can make a bargaine on it, though a Halter in the concluſion may determine there is nothing gotten by it. Well let thoſe (whoſe Conſciences ſpeakes plainely with *Achan, Ioſhua* 6. the 21. I tooke the Goodly Babiloniſh Garment, the two hundred ſhekells of Silver, and the wedge of Gold &c.) let theſe I ſay who have troubled the *Campe*, the whole Kingdome, by deceiving them, bodi ſee the aggravations of this Delinquencie under theſe conſiderations.

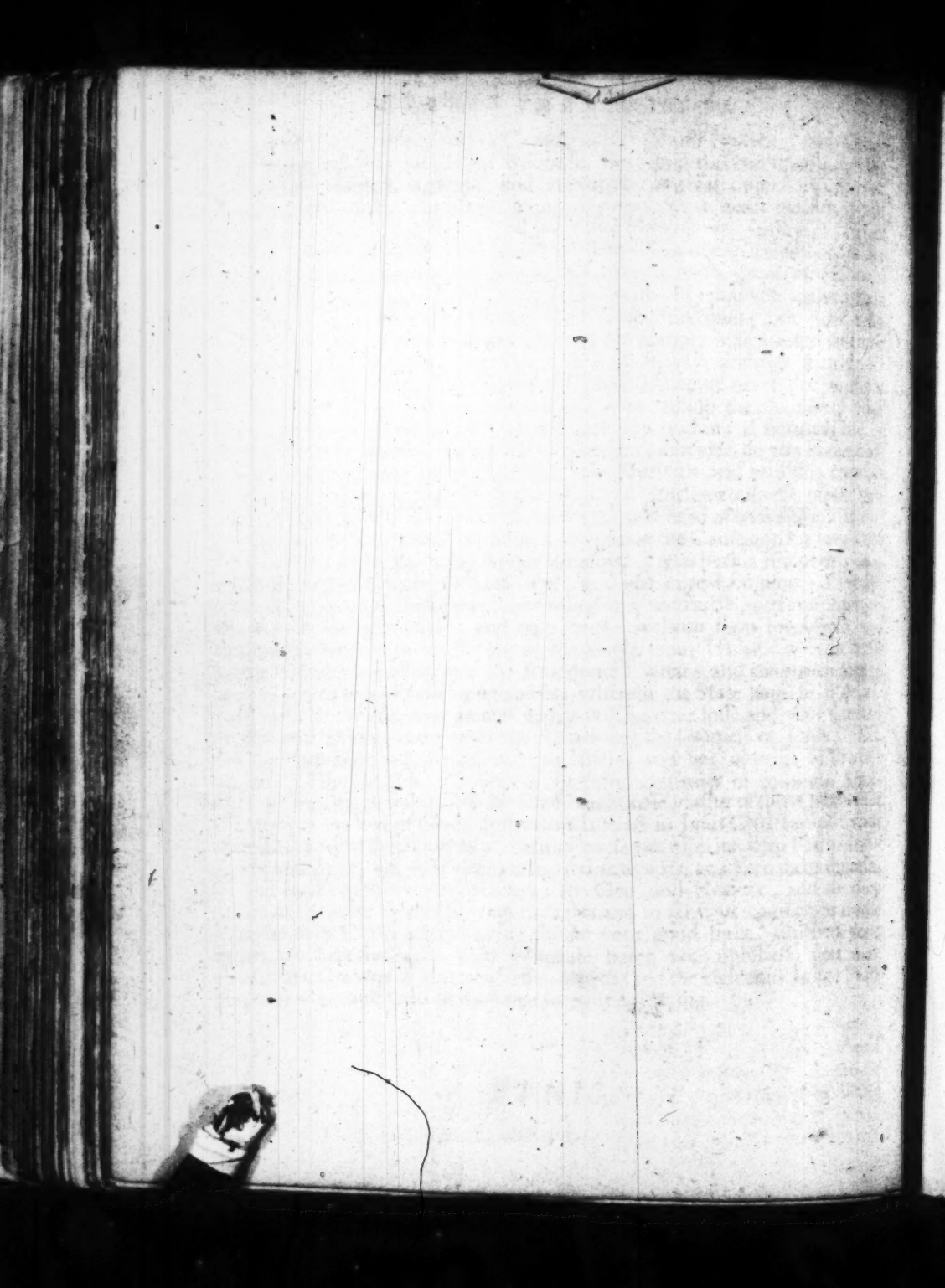
Firſt it is the moſt *ſacrilegious Robberie* that ever was committed, for it is moſt particularly againſt the very perſon of Chriſt, whoſe Cauſe chiefly it is, and how can you anſwer this at the great day?

He that will rob Chriſt in a thing ſo deeply concerning his glory, would ſell Chriſt as *Iudas* did for the like profit. I could wiſh you would ſeriouſly remember the ſad example of *Ananias* and *Saphirah*, ſmitten by God to death, for keeping back the accompt of his owne Eſtate; and his ſinne is aggravated from this conſideration, that he had lyed againſt the holy Ghoſt *Act.* 5. 4.

And if ſo? what will become of you, who keep back not your own, but the Lords owne monies, being the Free-will offering of the Kingdome unto him. What doe you when you ſay I muſt have moneys for one hundred under me and returne it? when happily you have not about 60. or 70 to pay, and keepe up the reſt? but even lie againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and rob Jeſus Chriſt, and to as great ſhame you ſhall one day acknowledge

it; as ever did Thiefe make his Confeſſion at *Tyburne*; when Jeſus Chriſt ſhall bring to light your hidden baſeneſſe, lies, and diſſimu'ation; againe you rob the whole Kingdome, and are thereby as great oppreſſors, as ever Monopolists, or Patentees have been, nay more in a great meaſure, you retard the worke of Chriſt, and are (*horreſco referens*) guilty of a great deale of blood ſhed in the Kingdome; I would you would ſeriouſly conſider of it. I have heard that ſome of you that have made a great profeſſion of zeale to the Cauſe, and of love unto Jeſus Chriſt, and that you applyed your ſelves unto the working the Warres out of theſe Principles; but now who more covetous than you? who more forward to comply with a ſinfull cuſtome of others in abuſing the State by baſe and ſelfeiſh dealings than you? which, (if you have true Principles of Piety) you could never doe without great paines ſinfully taken in ſtopping and in muzzeling the mouthes of your own Conſciences; which doth ſecretly vexe you within, if ſpirituall life be in you but as a graine of muſtard ſeed. Conſider, conſider, do you know how ſoone your breath may be wrung out of your Noſtrills, and will this comfort you in your dying agony? doth the wages of unrighteouſneſſe pleaſe you better than the love of Chriſt? let me be plaine, take heed of baſe diſſimulation; and hypocriſie. You would be thought to fight for the Cauſe, and for love unto Jeſus Chriſt, and this you ſay is your comfort, if you periſh you periſh in a good cauſe; and you are in Gods way, and you expect comfort; I would not trouble peace of conſcience; but why doe you trouble your owne peace. What, fight for Jeſus Chriſt; and rob Chriſt? doe you fight for Chriſt and ſteale away the Free-will offering of his people from Him? doe you fight for the Kingdome and deceive the Kingdome? what, and cannot endure to heare of any wayes of reforming abuſes; whereby the State hath been deceived? well, know this, your greateſt gaines will be your loſſe, and your greateſt deceipt will be in your owne ſoules. Remember the Counſell of Jeſus Chriſt, doe violence to no man, accuſe no man falſely, and bee content with your wages. In the laſt place take heed of the common ſinnes of common Souldiers, of ſwearing, drunkenneſſe, looſeneſſe, lightneſſe, vanity of ſpirit, labour for aſſurance of the love of God, and viſible Intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt; minde your mortality, and let the thoughts of eternity poyſe your ſpirits, keep Faith and a good conſcience, get your hearts into a dying temper, and keep them therein, for you walke in the ſhadow of death, let God, and Heaven, and the deep things of the other World fill your thoughts, and in all your conditions ſtudie to be found in Chriſt, that having fought your good fight, finiſhed your courſe, and kept the Faith, your Warefare being accompliſhed, you may receive that Crowne of righteouſneſſe, which God the righteous Judge ſhall give unto you, and unto all thoſe that love his appearing.

FINIS.



14

THE Rise, Growth, and Danger OF SOCINIANISME.

Together with

A plaine discovery of a desperate designe of corrupting the Protestant Religion, whereby it appeares that the Religion which hath been so violently contended for (by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his adherents) is not the true pure Protestant Religion, but an Hotchpotch of Arminianisme, Socinianisme and Popery.

It is likewise made evident,

That the Atheists, Anabaptists, and Sectaries so much complained of, have been raised or encouraged by the doctrines and practises of the Arminian, Socinian and Popish Party.

By Fr. Cheynell late Fellow of *Merton College.*

Vt Judæi olim volebant audire Populus Domini cùm essent non populus, Osc. 1.9. jactabant patrem Abraham cùm essent ex Diabolo, Joh. 8.44. Sic Socciniani quoque titulum Christianorum sibi arrogant, & Fratres nostri Spirituales haberi petunt, cùm unum nobiscum Patrem Deum Trin-unum minimè agnoscant. Vide D. Stegman. Photinianism. Disp. 1. p. 4. 5.

Ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὰ χείρω παραλλοῖ, *inquit Philosophus; parum itaque Rationales sunt Socciniani qui deteriora sequuntur.*

may 24 LONDON,
Printed for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Brazen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard. 1643.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE the Lord Viſcount *Say*, and *Seale*, &c. Peace.

NOBLE SIR,

LEarned Caſaubon *aſſures me that when the Greek Fathers wrote to a* wicked *man they were wont to ſalute him with that Apoſtolicall benediction,* Grace be unto you: *but when they wrote to a* religious *man they uſed the ordinary Hebraiſme,* Peace be unto you, *becauſe Peace doth ſuppoſe Grace, and doth comprehend all outward bleſſings. I am ſure your very enemies gave you this teſtimony at* Oxford, *that you were a man of* Peace, *but, as it followes in the Pſalme,* when you ſpake for peace they were for warre. *Pſalme* 120. 7. *All that your Honour deſired was that (as it became gowned men) they would take up their bookes, and lay down their armes; that they would not protect Delinquents any longer, but yeeld them up to a legall tryall. You deſired that nothing might be tumultuouſly attempted, but all things* orderly *reformed. You engaged your Honour to them that what Plate you found in places fit for Plate, the Treaſury or the Buttery ſhould remaine untouched, and moſt Societies engaged themſelves by a ſolemne promiſe, that they would never give their conſent that their Plate ſhould be put to any other uſe then what was ſutable and according to their oath, and the intention of the*

Vide Annotat. Caſaub. in G. Nyſ. Epiſt. ad Amb. & Baſ.

Pacem eccleſiæ, pacem Chriſti amiſſã quærere, & turbatã componere, & reperiam tenere cupiamus. Sed hujus ipſius fieri nos vel participes vel autores, nec tẽporis noſtri peccata metuemus —— nec Antichriſti miniſtri ſunt paſſi, qui Pace ſua, id eſt, impietatis ſuæ unitate ſe jactant, agentes ſe non ut Chriſti Epiſcopos, ſed Antichriſti ſacerdotes. Hilarius contra Auxentium.

Donours, their ſucceſſors having in all theſe reſpects as great an intereſt in the Plate as themſelves; Nay they generally confeſſed that they had no more power to alienе their Plate then their Lands. In confidence of their promiſe you told them you did leave their Plate in their owne cuſtody, which otherwiſe you would have ſecured, and in confidence of your Honours promiſe they brought forth their Plate, and made publique uſe of it, even whileſt the ſouldiers were in towne, Your Lordſhip found the Univerſity (as the Reverend Doctours *had left it) groaning under a kinde of Anarchy; for it was thought fit by the* Round-houſe, *that the Univerſity ſhould be diſſolved, and every man left to doe what ſeemed good in his owne eyes. It was ſuggeſted by a Doctor well read in Politiques, that if they did not diſſolve the Univerſity, the Parliament would diſſolve it. But your Honour made it appear how much you did abhorre an* Anarchy, *and honour the Vniverſity; you aſſembled thoſe few Governours of private Colledges which were at home, and the Subſtitutes of all that were abſent, you conſulted them how the Vniverſity might be put into its right poſture: You aſſured them that it was not the intent of the Parliament to change the Government or infringe the Liberties of the Vniverſity, & that though the new Statutes were juſtly complained of, yet you conceived it fit that the Vniverſity ſhould for the preſent be governed by Laws that were none of the beſt, rather then left quite without Rule, or government; they all confeſſed that you behaved your ſelfe more like a Chancellour then a ſouldier, for the Vniverſity was not over-awed by a garriſon, or over-ruled by a Councell of warre. You did not impoſe any* Taxes *upon the* Univerſity, *you did not go about to perſwade them that* Guns *were* Mathematicall Inſtruments, *and therefore they might buy* guns *with that very* money *which was bequeathed and ſet apart for* Mathematicall Inſtruments; *you did not importune any Scholars to liſt themſelves in your Regiment, nor did you deſire that* Doctours *would turne* Commanders, *or that any* Commanders *ſhould be created* Doctours, *or* boyes *created* Maſters, *leſt there might be an* Anarchy *even in* Convocation *by ſuch a Premeditated Confuſion; and yet ſuch counſells and practiſes have been ſuggeſted by ſome, that are none of the meaneſt Ranke. When I was commanded by ſpeciall warrant to attend your Honour, (deputed by both houſes of Parliament*

for

for the service of King and Parliament to settle Peace and truth in the Vniversity of Oxford, and to reduce the said Vniversity to its ancient order, right Discipline, and to restore it to its former priviledges and liberties) there was notice given of a pestilent book very prejudiciall both to truth and peace, and upon search made, the book was found in the chamber of Mr. Webberly, *who had translated this* Socinian Master-peece *into* English *for his own private use, as he pretended; to which vain excuse I replyed that I made no question but he understood the book in* Latine, *and therefore had he intended it only for his own private use, he might have saved the paines of translating it. Besides the Frontispice of the book under Mr.* Webberlies *own hand did testifie to his face that it was translated into* English *for the benefit of this Nation. Moreover there was an Epistle to the Reader prefixed before the booke; (I never heard of any man yet that wrote an Epistle to himselfe) and therefore sure he intended to print it. Finally he submits all to the consideration of these times of* Reformation, *and the* Reformers *have thought fit that it should be answered and published. I desired at the first Intimation to decline the service, because it were better to confute* Socinianisme *in Latine; but I have since considered that*

Volumus & nos pacem, sed pacem Christi —— pacē in qua non sit bellum involutū, pacē, qua non ut adversarios subjiciat, sed ut amicos jungat, Hieronym. Ep. ad Th. contra errores Ioh. Hieros.

1. *The opinions of* Abailardus, Servetus, Socinus, *are already published in English in a book entitled Mr.* Woolton's *defence against Mr.* Walker, *and therefore if this Treatise had been suppressed, their opinions would not be unknown, for they are already divulged.*

See Mr Gataker's defence of Mr. Woolton.

2. *The opinions being published in English without a confutation, it is very requisite that there should be some Refutation of the errours published also, for it is not fit that a* Bedlam *should goe abroad without a Keeper.*

3. *If there be but just suspition of a Designe to introduce damnable heresies, it is requisite that the grounds of suspition should be manifested, especially if it be such a pestilent heresy as* Socinianisme *is (which corrupts the very vitalls of Church and State) it is fit the heresy should be early discovered lest both Church and State be ruined by it.*

4. *The Parliament is much blamed for imprisoning the Translatour without cause: and it is much wondered at that his Chamber should be searched by officers: now the cause of both will appear.*

The Tranſlatour and his work were ſo famous that there was notice given of his good ſervice intended to this Nation, upon notice given there was a ſearch made, now upon ſearch made the book being found, and the Tranſlatour apprehended, the Parliament is rather guilty of his releaſe then of his Impriſonment.

5. The Tranſlatour cannot complain of the publiſhing of it, becauſe (as hath been ſhewn) he himſelf intended to publiſh it, he ſubmits all to theſe times of Reformation, and ſo doe I, let the Reformers judge. This book belongs to your Honour, becauſe it is but a Prodromus or Fore-runner to make way for a full anſwer to Maſter Webberlies Tranſlation, and therefore I preſent it to you, not only becauſe Maſter Webberlies book was ſeiſed on by your Lordſhips warrant; but becauſe I know your Honour hath ever patronized the true Proteſtant Religion, for Proteſtants doe not place Religion in ſhadowes and ceremonies; and becauſe you juſtly abhorre all ſuperſtitious rites, whether old or new, all judicious men will eſteem you the ſtricter Proteſtant. That you may teſtify your diſlike of Schiſme as well as Hereſy, you have diſcovered and refuted the uncharitable and bitter errour of the Browniſts. You have ſtudied Nazianzens law of Martyrdome, neither to ſeek nor fear danger; the firſt would be raſhneſſe, and the ſecond cowardlineſſe. τὸ μὲν γὰρ θεόσδυτος, τὸ δὲ δειλίας. You are not of the ſect of the Elceſaites who (as Euſebius and Auguſtine teſtify) taught men to deny the faith in time of Perſecution, and yet to keep it ſtill in their heart, forgetting that of the Apoſtle, that with the heart man beleeves unto righteouſneſſe, but with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation. Rom. 10. 10. You have learnt to be a good Chriſtian, and therefore a good Subject; Conſcience will bind you to obedience, and no other Bond will hold men cloſe to their duty (to that Allegiance which is due by the Law of God and the Land both) in theſe treacherous times. It was the wiſedome of that famous Emperour to baniſh all Renegado's from his Court, ὡς ἂν θεῷ προδότας, as Traytours againſt God himſelfe, for he conſidered that they who betrayed God for feare, would not ſtick to betray their Prince for gain. I dare ſay that you are the Kings ſworne ſervant, and all men ſay that in your place you doe advance the Kings Income to the higheſt, nay ſome have been bold to ſay that you have leſſe care of the ſubjects profit, then of the Kings. Your devo-

νόμος μαρτυρίας. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 20.

Eleceſaita fidem in perſecutione negãdam docebant & in corde ſervandam. Aug. de Hareſibus ad Quod vult Deũ.

Euſeb. de vita Conſt. l. 1. c. 11.

devotions ſpeak you a Royaliſt, none prayes more heartily for the King; It is your Iudgement that the Kingdome cannot be preſerved without an union between the three Eſtates by which the kingdome is governed, and if you might have been heard you would have petitioned, and ſollicited for an happy union between King and Parliament, only you conceive that an union *between a* Court of Juſtice *and* capitall Delinquents, *is* intolerable, *and an happy union between* Proteſtants *and* Papiſts *altogether impoſſible: We cannot forget how many leagues the* Papiſts *broke in* 16. *yeares ſpace; I reckon from* 1572. *to* 1588. *Wiſe* Homer *and witty* Ariſtophanes *were both in good earneſt when they ſaid that no man that had either wealth or Innocence could delight in Civill Warre, and* Ariſtophanes *ſhewed himſelfe as good a Stateſman as a Poet in his ſweet lines of Peace, where he adviſes all men to beware how they enter into a league of Peace with men that are unpeaceable; and ſure* Delinquents *and* Papiſts *are none of the truſtieſt or meekeſt men;* What (*ſaith he*) ſhall Gulls confide in Foxes?

Καὶ κέπφοι τρήρωνες ἀλωπεκίδεσσι πεποιθέναι.

The Papiſts *will certainly count us* Proteſtants *Gulls indeed (well we may be as innocent as doves, but we are as ſimple as Gulls) if we confide in* Jeſuited Foxes; *let the woolfe and the ſheep be firſt married, and ſee how they agree: let us try whether we can make a crabbe goe ſtreight forward, or make a Hedge-hog ſmooth.*

——— ἢ γὰρ εἶόν τε
ὑμῖν μὲν δισσόν, μὲν καὶ λύκες εἶν ὑμεναίοι. &c.

If we ſay to the Pope *as the men of* Jabeſh *ſaid to* Nahaſh, Make a covenant with us and we will ſerve thee, *the* Pope *will anſwer like* Nahaſh *the* Ammonite, On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that I may thruſt out all your right eyes, and lay it as a reproach upon all England, all Iſrael, all the Reformed Churches, 1 Sam. 11. 1, 2. *If wee have loſt our eyes already, let us be avenged on the* Philiſtines; *the Lord ſtrengthen us, as Sampſon ſaid, that we may overthrow the pillars upon which* Rome *ſtands, ſo ſhall we be avenged of the* Romane Philiſtines *for both our eyes,* Judges 16. 28.

But there are other Philiſtines *namely* Arminian *and* Socinian Philiſtines, *by which Church and State are much endangered, and it is the buſineſſe now in hand to lay open their myſtery of iniquity to*

Vide Dinothum de bellis Gallicis, eundē de bello Belgico. Dimetr. Mexicum. Hiſt. Belg. Popelinniere. Memoires de la ligue. Inſidiæ ſub pacis nomine latebant 1572. Barth.

Ἀλλ' ὁ σοφὸς τοιγὰρ Διὶ ὄμπνιος ἤξιον, &c.

At ſapiens quondam rite hoc prædixit Homerus.

Exors ille, domus, pauperque exterris & exlex, Quem bellum civile juvat, crudele, nefandum.

Ariſtop. Εἰρήνη. *Vulpibus atq; lupis ſolitus confidere Mergis.* Κίγκος *Mergus, fulica, Ardea, mihi Gavia videtur eſſe; a Gull, or Seagoose, vide obſerv. Flor. Chr. in locum. Nullâ id ratione queamus Ante lupos quàm commercio ſibi junxerit agnam. At nunquã rectè officias incedere Cancrum, Non facias unquam ut lævis ſiet aſper Echinus.*

Petra Romana eſt Mola Aſinaria, demergatur ſola in profundum maris, in collo noſtro non ſuſpendatur. Barret. de Iure Regn.

to the publique view. Wee may ſay to theſe peſtilent Heretiques as well as to malignant Stateſmen, Ita nati eſtis ut mala veſtra ad Rempub. pertineant; *for there are no greater* Stateſmen *in the world then the* Engliſh Arminians, and Popiſh Socinians; *for ſuch Monſters hath* England *nouriſhed as are not to be found in all* Africa. Herod *and* Pilate, *the* Romane *and the* Racovian Antichriſt, *are made friends in* England, *all the* Grand-Malignants, Arminians, Papiſts, *and* Socinians *are of one confederacy, all united under one head the* Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, *the Patriarch or* Pope *of this* Britiſh *world*, alterius orbis Papa *as his* Brother-Pope *hath given him leave to phraſe it, becauſe he ſaw the* Arch-Biſhop *too proud to acknowledge his Supremacy, but forward enough to maintain any other point of* Popery, *& ready to joyn with him to ſuppreſſe all* Pure Proteſtants. *If this Deſign take effect, there may wel be a reconciliation profeſſed & eſtabliſhed between* Rome and Canterbury, *the two* Popes *may divide the ſpoile of the Church betweene them if they can but agree at parting. Whether ſome have not endeavoured to make ſuch a Reconciliation; whether all points of Popery almoſt have not been greedily embraced in* England, *and that of the* Popes *Supremacy only rejected, more out of* pride *then* conſcience, *let the prudent judge, they have light and evidence enough, and new evidence is daily produced. The Lord unite the King and Parliament, that Truth and Juſtice, Piety and Peace may be eſtabliſhed in our dayes: ſo prayes*

April, 18. 1643.

Your Lordſhips

humble ſervant,

FR. CHEYNELL.

Tacit. Ab. l. 4. *Vibans* the 2d. did account my worthy Predeceſſour S. *Anſelm* his own Competer, and ſaid he was th: Patriarch and Apoſtolique of the other world. The Archbiſhop his Relat. p. 174. The like priviledge offered to this Archbiſhop by the Engliſh Fryar *Barnoſius*; ſee the large ſupplement of Canterburies ſelfe-conviction pag. 20. What offers were made by Signior *Con*, I leave to one more skillfull to demonſtrate.

It is ordered this eighteenth day of *April*, 1643. by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament concerning printing, that this book intituled The Riſe, Growth, and Danger of Socinianiſme, &c. be printed.

John White.

Chap. I.

Of the Riſe of Socinianiſme.

THe *Socinians* have raked many ſinkes, and dunghils for thoſe ragges and that filth, wherewith they have patched up and defiled that leprous body which they account a compleat body of pure Religion. Ever ſince the world was poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of Antichriſt ſome Malignant Heretikes have been ever and anon deſperately ſtriking at the Perſon, the Natures, the offices, the grace and Spirit of Chriſt. *Cerinthius* and *Ebion* began to blaſpheme Chriſt, even in the Apoſtles time. I need ſay nothing of *Theodotus Byzantinus*, *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Arius* and the[a] reſt; yet it will not be amiſſe to ſhew wherein the *Socinians* have refined or enlarged the ancient hereſies, which have been long ſince condemned to hell. *Oſtorodius* would not have the name of *Ebionites* impoſed upon the *Socinians*, *quia vox Ebion Hebraicè egenum ſignificat*, *Præf. Inſt. pag.* 10. & 11. it ſeemes they would not be counted mean-conditioned men: and there are ſome indeed and thoſe no beggers (unleſſe it beat Court) who are too much addicted to *Socinian* fancies; and yet if that be true, which *Oſtorodius* cites out of *Euſebius*, that the *Ebionites* were ſo called becauſe they had a mean and beggerly opinion of Chriſt, ſure the *Socinians* might well be called *Ebionites*, for none have baſer and cheaper thoughts of Chriſt, then they. If *Oſtorodius* had thought it worth while to have conſulted *Euſebius his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 24. or *Epiphanius*

Scribent ii lauti & accurate quid hoc munus ingenii fiducia vel officii ratione ducantur; ut verò fabulanda vocandationis, vel pœnas oblivionis mea gratiâ, Communitorium mihimet paraſſe ſuffecerit. Vinc. Lirin. adv. Har.

[a] *Vide Calovium conſid. Theol. Socin. pag* 105. 106. *& ſequ.*

Vide Stegman Photin. Diſp. 1 *pag.* 1. *&* 2.

Hebionei Chriſtum tantummodò hominem dicunt. Vti Auguſtinus de Hæreſibus.

Euſeb. Pamph. Hiſt. lib. 3. *cap. Gr.* & *Lat.* 24.

Epiphanius Hareſ. 30.

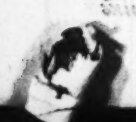
phanius *Hareſ.* 33. he might have ſeen another reaſon why thoſe heretikes were called *Ebionites.*

Ariani Patrem & Filium & Spiritũ Sanctum nolunt eſſe unius ejuſdemque naturæ atque ſubſtantiæ, aut ut expreſſius dicatur, eſſentiæ. Auguſt. de Hareſibus.

Ariani omnes dicti antiquitus erant, licet ſententiis inter ſe diſcordes, qui impræſentiarum errorem cum Ario conſpirabant; nempe Filium Dei Patri conſubſtantialem eſſe negantes, aut ſimilitudinem probat.

The *Socinians* take it no leſſe unkindly that they are called *Arians. Ex conſenſu tantùm in principalibus cum Ario de Jeſu Chriſto, Arianiſmi jure quis arguí poteſt?* ſaith *Smalcius.* It is well he confeſſes that they may be called *Arians* who agree with *Arius* in the maine, I deny that the *Arians* had higher thoughts of Jeſus Chriſt, then the *Socinians.* The *Arians* were termed ἐξανθρωποι, becauſe they maintained that Chriſt was created ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων. Some *Arians* did acknowledge that Chriſt was equall to the Father in eſſence and nature, though they denyed him to be of the ſame eſſence with the Father; and others of them did only ſay, that the Son was unlike the Father, and were therefore called Ἀνόμοιοι; yet theſe alſo were cõdemned, becauſe neither of theſe ſects would acknowledge the Son to be conſubſtantiall with the Father; for if they would have confeſſed that the Father and the Son were of the ſame eſſence, they would never have ſaid that their eſſence was equall; but rather that their perſons were equall, and their eſſence the ſame; for equality is ever between two at the leaſt: therefore by ſaying that their nature was equall, they implyed that they had two different natures. And they who talked of a diſſimilitude of nature, muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that the Father and the Son had different natures, for a nature cannot be ſaid to be unlike it ſelfe: and if this latter ſect by diſſimilitude meant an inequality, then they were blaſphemouſly abſurd, in fancying that there was *majus* and *minus* in the ſame moſt indiviſible, and ſingle eſſence. Reverend *Beza* hath ſet this forth to the life, in his preface to the deſcription of the Hereſy and Perjury of that Arch-heretike, *Valentinus Gentilis, Ariomanitæ — in duas minimùm factiones diviſi ſunt, nempe in ὁμοιουσίους & ἀνομοίους.* He diſputes the the point, whether ὁμοούσιος did not imply as much as ἐτεροούσιος *— niſi vox illa ὁμοούσιος (ſicut de Dionyſio Corinthio, Baſilius ad fratrem ſcribit) commodâ quadam interpretatione (ſed plane ut mihi videtur violentâ) leniatur. Nam certè in unâ eademq; perſonâ eſſentiâ nullus eſt neq; æqualitati neq; inæqualitati locus, utpote quæ minimùm in duobus verſantur; ac proinde in hypoſtaſibus, non*

D. Beza Præfatio præfixa Explicat. Val. Gentilis Perfidiæ & Perjurii. Socinani cum Arianis Filiũ nõ modo ἑτεροούσιον, ſed etiã κατὰ πάντα ἀνόμοιον dicunt. Stegman. Theol. Diſp. 1. pag. 7, 8.



in

in eſſentiâ ſpectare æqualitatẽ neceſſe eſt. Arianos — *qui Filium Patri faciebant diſſimilem, ſe vel Arianos prodebant vel ſtolidos, quum in ſimpliciſſimâ & ſingulariſſimâ naturâ, nempe Deitate, majus & minus quiddam imaginarentur, pag. 4. & 5.*

By this and much more which might be added, it doth plainly appeare that if the *Arians* were not more *Rationall*, yet they were more *devout* then the *Socinians*, they had a a more honourable and reverent opinion of Chriſt. For the *Socinians* will not acknowledge that God and Chriſt are equall, or like in nature. The *Socinians* make Chriſt, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον, the *Arians* thought him the moſt excellent of all creatures, and therefore ſaid, that he was created before any other creature, and uſed by God as an Inſtrument to create the reſt, as Doctor *Stegman* obſerves, *Diſput. 1. pag. 3.* Finally the *Arians* and *Socinians* agree in this, that both deny Chriſt to be conſubſtantiall with the Father, and therefore though they differ in telling their tale, in explaining their errour, yet both agree in the maine, and that's ground enough to call them *Arians*; if *Smalcius* may be Judge.

Socinani inſuper Filium Dei poſt mundi occaſum prorſus non regnaturum cum Ario ſomniant Socinian. vide Calov. de Chriſtiſt. Theol. Socin. a prisca hæreſi vetus. pag. 110.

Doctour *Stegman* uſually cals the *Socinians*, *Photinians*, and therefore entitles his own book *Photinianiſmus*; and the *Socinians* doe acknowledge that they agree with *Photinus* in the maine, yet they ſay it is not ſufficient ground to call any man *Photinian* becauſe he agrees with *Photinus* in Fundamental points; but *Smalcius* tells us that *Socinus* was the ſervant of Chriſt, they own his doctrine, and own the man as their fellow-ſervant: *Quid Photinus? quid alii? niſi ſervi Chriſti?* they give him and others that are as bad as he is, the right hand of fellowſhip; and it is commonly conceived that *Mahumetiſme* took his riſe from *Photinianiſme.* I have no book about me, that ſhewes ſo clearly what the *Photinians* held, as *Iacobus ad Portum* Profeſſor of Divinity *in Academia Lauſannenſi*, in its Epiſtle Dedicatory. *Docuerunt Chriſtum Ieſum naturâ eſſe* ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον, *gratiâ divinâ tamen inſigniter ornatum, eumq; tum demum eſſe cœpiſſe, cùm in utero virginis Mariæ conciperetur; ac proinde verbum Dei, vel Deum non aliter in ipſo quàm in aliis Prophetis habitaſſe, nec ipſi* σωματικῶς *aut* ὑποστατικῶς *unitum fuiſſe, ſed tantum gratiâ & efficaciâ ipſi aſſediſſe: ipſum*

Photino convenire fateantur. D Stegman Photin. Diſp. 1. pag 3.

Iacobus ad Portum Orthod. Fid. Defen. adverſus Oſtorodium.

denique eſſe λόγον θεῦ, ſed προφορικὸν & ἀνυπόστατον, non autem ſubſtantiale ut loquuntur, ex quâ infœlici hæreſi poſtmodum Mahumetiſmus ortus eſſe perhibetur.

Others call the *Socinians* *Samoſatenians*, and therefore *Thalyæus* calles his booke in which he anſwers the arguments of *Socinus*, *Eniedinus*, *Oſtorodius*, and *Smalcius*, *Anatome Samoſatenianiſmi*, in which he ſhews that the *Socinian gloſſes* are of the ſame colour with *Turkiſh* and *Iewiſh* blaſphemies; the four Profeſſors of the Theologicall Faculty at *Leiden*, have given a large commendation of *Thalyæus* in their approbation, printed before the booke, and ſigned with the hands of all the Profeſſors, in which they with one voice vote *Socinianiſme* to be *Recoct Samoſatenianiſme*; *Impiam Pauli Samoſateni ſententiam melior & ſanctior Eccleſia ſub Cruce adhuc militans, ut enata fuit exhorruit, eaq; mox publico Epiſcoporum judicio execrata eſt. Scriptum illud conſcriptum contra renatum & ab infauſto illo Socino ejuſq; aſſeclis recoctum Samoſatenianiſmum cenſemus pie, docte & ſolide &c.* The *Samoſatenians* did borrow their name from *Paulus Samoſatenus* Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch*, and therefore his practiſes were the more abominable, becauſe he poyſoned that Church, in which Diſciples were firſt called *Chriſtians*, with Hereticall blaſphemies againſt the Lord Chriſt, as reverend *Beza* obſerves. I find in *Auguſtine* that *Artimonius* did firſt broach this hereſy, and *Paulus Samoſatenus* did revive it; but I need ſay no more of the *Samoſatenians*, having ſaid enough already of the *Photinians*, for *Photinus* did confirm that hereſie which *Samoſatenus* did revive, and therefore the followers of *Paulus Samoſatenus* were more commonly called *Photinians* then *Paulians*, or *Samoſatenians*. And though *Philaſter* reckon *Samoſatenus* his hereſy by it ſelf, & *Photinus* his hereſie by it ſelf, yet to ſhew that they were not different hereſies, he ſaith *Photinus* did in all things follow *Paulus Samoſatenus*, I do not reckon up all the diſorderly Heretikes in order, take them as it happens. *Neſtorius* denyed that the ſelf ſame perſon was God and man, he would not acknowledge that the *Word* was made fleſh, only the *Word* was with that fleſh, (by an effectuall Preſence) which was taken of the ſubſtance of the Virgin. *Affirmabat enim*

Martin. Thalyæus Anatom. Samoſat. Gloſſema Samoſatenicorum eſt ejuſdē coloris cū Turciſmo ac Iudaiſmo —— cum Turcu quidem plus habent affinitatu quàm cum Iudæ —— Turciſmus enim ut ex aliis errorum centonibus, ſic ex Samoſateniſmo a Mahumete eſt confiatus.

Paulians a Paulo Samoſateno Chriſtū non ſemper fuiſſe dicunt ſed ejus initiū ex quo de Maria natus eſt aſſeverant, nec cum aliquid amplius quā hominem putant. Iſta hæreſis aliquādo cujuſdā Artemonis fuit ſed cum defeciſſet inſtaurata eſt a Paulo, & poſtea ſic a Photino confirmata &c. Aug de Hæreſ.

Execrandus ille Samoſatenus ejus Eccleſiæ conſtitutor in quâ primi ſunt Chriſtiani nominati. D Beza ubi ſupra.

Auguſt de Hæreſ. Hæreſis Samoſateni, poſtea ſic a Photino confirmata ut Photiniani quàm Paulani celebrius nuncupentur —— Philaſter continuatim ponit ambos (Samoſatenū ſcil. & Photinum) ſub ſingulu & proprium numerū quaſi hæreſes duas, cum dicat Photinum in omnibus Pauli ſectatum fuiſſe doctrinam.

nim τὸν λόγον illi carnẽ ex Mariâ prognatæ nonniſi ἐνεργείᾳ τινὶ παρουσίᾳ adfuiſſe, as learned *Beza* declares it in brief. If any man deſire to be further acquainted with the opinion, and the deſputes about it, let him reade S. *Cyril*, and peruſe the famous and Orthodoxe (not the ſpurious and ſurreptitious) *Epheſine* Councell, and he may receive full ſatisfaction. The *Socinians* are farre worſe then *Neſtorius*, for they do not onely deny, that the ſelfe ſame perſon who was borne of the Virgin, is the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, but they utterly deny that there is any ſecond Perſon, or third Perſon which is Conſubſtantiall with the Father.

Having mentioned *Neſtorius*, I muſt not ſkippe over *Eutyches*, who in oppoſition to *Neſtorius* his dividing of the Perſon of Chriſt, did vainely imagine, that the natures of Chriſt were mingled, and ſo he confounded both natures, and their Eſſentiall properties: Yet the *Eutychians* did grant that there were two natures in Chriſt, which the *Socinians* deny.

Vide Iacobum ad Pontũ Orthodox. fid. Defenſ. Stegman. Diſput 1. pag. 4. 7. 8. Calovium Conſiderat. Theol. Socin. Proœmial. Glorificantur Socinian ſelectos quoſdam Cõfeſſiones ſua vel directa vel oblique de Deo & Chriſto fauiſſe, Samoſatenum Photinum, Baliardum, Baſilidianos, Carpocrat. Gnoſticos, Marcionitas, Montaniſtas, Noetianos, Arianos, Berillum, Eutych. Donatum, Helvidiũ Eunomiũ, Meletium, Sabinum, Praxeam, Manichæum, Sabellium, Photinum, & ejuſce furfuris peſſimos hæreticos, vide Calovium de Dæmon. Theol. Socin. à principio hæreſeos pag. 106.

The time would faile me, or at leaſt the Readers patience, ſhould I ſhew how the *Socinians* agree with the *Noetians*, who maintained, that there was but one perſon in the Godhead: with *Macedonius*, who denied the Holy Ghoſt to be a Perſon: with the *Pelagians*, concerning their deniall of the Image of God in *Adam* before his Fall, and their maintaining of Free-will, and denyall of originall ſinne ſince the Fall. In a word, how they agree with the *Valentinians*, *Marcionites*, *Cerdonians*, *Manichees*, *Apollinariſts*, *Sabellins*, the *Donatiſts*, *Sadducees*, *Papiſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Schwenckefeldians*, *Antinomians*, and I know not how many more of the like ſtampe, hath beene ſhewen by others already, and the manifeſtation of their errors in the enſuing Treatiſe will ſufficiently declare. I will paſſe over many things very obſervable, becauſe I would willingly diſcourſe at large of ſome later paſſages, and ſubtile inventions by which *Socinianiſme* was introduced into forraine parts, and in ſome parts eſtabliſhed by the ſuffrage and ſubſcription of too many eminent wits, and great Scholars. But I muſt not in my haſte forget *Abeilardus*, or as *Platina* cals him, *Baliardus*, as *Bernard*, *Abailardus*, his name

Vide D. Stegman Disp. 1. pag. 4.

name in our English tongue may be *Balard*; he flourished about the yeare 1140. he had a very ready discourfing wit, and is by some voiced to be the first founder of Schoole-divinity; whether he maintained all those heresies which *Bernard* layes to his charge, I shall not now stand to dispute, there is some cause of doubt; *Abeilard* lived to make his Apology, and if it was but an honest Recantation, he hath made some amends. Learned Mr. *Gataker* in his Post-script to Mr. *Wottons* Defence, *pag.* 40. & 41. will direct you to Authors, from whom you may receive better satisfaction then I can for the present give, unlesse I were furnished with a better Library.

Learned Mr. Gataker his Post-script to Mr. Wottons Defence, pag. 10. 41. Calov. Considerat. Theol. Socinian. Proœmial p. 120.

I shall not doe *Postellus* so much honour as to take notice of him; as for *Servetus*, I will not staine my paper with his blasphemies: Mr. *Gataker* hath shewen his chiefe assertions in the booke forecited from the 42. to the 47. page; it is much questioned whether the Senate of *Geneva* did not deale too severely with him. *Samosatenus*, *Arius* and *Eutyches* did all revive in that *Cerberus*, he was both admonished and refuted by three learned Divines of that age, *Oecol. Lampadius*, *Melanchthon* & *Calvin*; he had time enough given him to recant, hee did stubbornely maintaine his cursed blasphemies for thirty yeares together, as *Beza* shewes; *Ob triginta annorum blasphemias execrabiles & indomitam pervicaciam ex Senatus Genevensis sententiâ justissimo supplicio affectum, quis non tandem nisi planè furiosus & exsors abuminetur?*

Beza Præfat. præfix. explicat. Hæres. Valent. Gent. Calvinum Confid. Theol. Sor. Proœmial. pag. 6. Michael. Servetus pœnas luens, Anno 1553.

The Senate of Geneva were in good hope by this exemplary punishment upon *Servetus* to crush this Cockatrices egge, and kill the Viper; but for all this some under hand, and others more boldly and impudently did seduce the people. *Bernardine Ochin* seemed to be an *Academick*, a meere *Sceptik* in Religion, he questioned all things, and determined nothing; *Lælius Socinus* carried the matter with such a cleanly conveyance, that he was scarse taken notice of, though he received some checks and admonitions, yet most men thought charitably of him during his life; his black designes were not fully discovered till after his death; this is the Grandfather of the *Socinians*; but I will say no more of him

Nonnulli Genevæ iterum è favilla Serveti flammas quasdam hæreseos ipsius excitare, cum vim quisque inter alios fovit Lælius Socinus. Calov. Decas Dis. pag. 7.

yet,

yet, till I have ſhewen what prankes were played by thoſe bold fellowes, who acted thoſe tragedies openly upon the Stage, which *Lelius* compoſed behinde the Curtaine. *Valentinus Gentilis* practiſed at *Geneva*, *George Blandrate* a Phyſitian in *Poland*, and *Tranſylvania*. Give mee leave to make but two or three obſervations by the way, and I ſhall open the practiſes of theſe impudent Hereticks more fully to you.

Impietas Val. Gent. brevi ſcripto detecta per D. I. Calvinum vide Valentini Gent. Propoſit. Confeſſion. Libellum Antidotorum. Reſponſum D. Calvini ad Quæſtion. Georg. Blandrat. Ejuſdem Brev. Admonit. ad fratres Polonos, nec non confirmat. iſtius Admonit. Simleri Epiſtolam Miniſtris in Polonia & Ruſſia. Theſes I. Hyperii in Acad. Marpurg. Aſſert. Doct. Cath. de Trinitate per Alexand. Alefium. Theſes D. Bezæ in Prælect. de Trinitate. B. Acutis Hiſtor. Val. Gent.

First, the Devill hath done more miſchiefe in the Church by counterfeit *Proteſtants*, falſe brethren, then by profeſſed *Papiſts*, open enemies.

Secondly, obſerve that vaine curioſity did betray the Churches, and make them a meere prey to theſe ſubtile Hereticks; moſt men have an itching deſire to be acquainted with novelties, and at that time the Churches were very inquiſitive after a more *Rationall way of Devinity*, they began to examine the Articles of faith, eſpecially the Article of the *Trinity*, by ſome received *Axiomes of Philoſophy*, and by that curioſity puzled their reaſon, and loſt their faith.

Thirdly, though *Poland* and *Tranſylvania* were grievouſly infected, yet the miſchiefe came from *Italy*, as reverend *Beza* obſerves, and therefore cryes out, *Sanè fatalis eſſe videtur Poloniis Italia.* Beſides the flame brake out firſt in the *Italian* Church at *Geneva*, though the coales were diſperſed and blowne too in other places. The *Italian* Church had ſome warning given by the execution of *Michael Servetus* in the yeare 1553. but that Church was too indulgent for foure or five yeares. yet at laſt the *Elders* of the *Italian* Church, perceiving that ſome of their flock began to oppoſe the doctrine of the Trinity, they thought fit to ſet forth ſome forme of Confeſſion, unto which they required alſo ſubſcribe, upon the eighteenth day of May. 1558. They all proteſted by that Faith whereby they were oblieged to God, that they would never purpoſely and malitiouſly, directly or obliquely oppoſe that Confeſſion, or favour any Forme, or Sect which

Vide Bezæ Præfat.

did

Confeſsio fidei edita in Italica Eccleſia Genevæ habetur in Explicat. perfidiæ Val. Gentilis pag. 1.

did make the leaſt appearance of diſſenting from it; and whoſoever did violate this Proteſtation, ſhould be held a perjured and perfidious man. *Valentinus Gentilis* made no great haſte to ſubſcribe, but being called upon, he teſtified his conſent with his owne hand. Yet not long after, he ſaid he was pricked in conſcience for ſubſcribing to this Forme, and therefore contemned his Proteſtation, and endeavoured to ſeduce the ſimple people; whereupon he was convented before the Senate of *Geneva*, the points in Controverſie being rationally diſcuſſed, and *Valentinus* nonpluſt, he had nothing to ſay, but that he was not well verſed in the art of diſputing, which was notoriouſly falſe, for he was an acute ſubtile man, as appeares by his Confeſſions, Epiſtles, Replies; his ſublime notions about the *Eſſence*, and *Subſiſtences* of the *Trinity and Quaternity*; that one queſtion did ſufficiently diſcover his ſubtilty, *An Eſſentia divina ex Semetipſa abſque ullâ conſideratione Perſonarum ſit verus Deus*; and that Theſis of his, *Deus Pater ſolus verus Deus eſt Eſſentiator, hoc eſt Informator individuorum, nempe Filii Spiritusque.* The God of Iſrael (ſaith *Valentine*) is the onely true God the Father of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo by oppoſing the Father to the Son, and affirming that the Father only was the true God, he did clearly deny the Son to be the true God. *Clare apparet* (ſaith the Senate) *quum Patrem opponis Filio & uni duntaxat veram Deitatem tribuis, te excludere alterum, quem cum illo conſers— Faceſſat antitheſis inter Patrem & Filium ubi ſit Deitatis mentio— In comparatione fingis duo Antitheta, Patrem opponis Filio ac ſi in ſolo Patre eſſet Dei Eſſentia— Filium eſſentiam à Patre dixit, à Seipſo eſſe negas— Jam ſi Eſſentia divina ſit in ſola Patre, vel eripies eam filio, vel partibilem finges, utcunque nunc centies concedas Filium eſſe verum Deum, ſpoliatus tamen ſuâ eſſentiâ titularis ſolùm erit Deus.— Individua tibi ſomnias quorum ſingula partem Eſſentiæ obtineant— Deus Indefinite eſt ingenitus, & Pater etiam Perſona reſpectu ingenitus, filius autem reſpectu Perſona à Patre eſt genitus— Non abſtrahimus perſonas ab Eſſentia, ſed quamvis in ea reſideant, diſtinctionem interponimus. Hoc ſenſu* Individuos *Tertullianus vocat Patrem & Filium, non autem (ut tu ſtulte imaginaris)* Individua, *quæ ſub Specie comprehendantur.*

Ibid. pag 3.

Vide Explicat. Præfidia Valent. Gentilis, p. 14, 15, 16.

tur. To this effect the Senate anſwered *Valentines* ſubtilties; I have put it cloſe together, that I might not be tedious, and yet manifeſt upon what grounds this great wit was condemned by that grave judicious Senate.

He had one queſtion more, which he tooke much pride in, namely, *Utrum Eſſentia concurrat in Trinitatem?* to which the Senate anſwered, *Eſſentia non concurrit ad diſtinguendas perſonas, nec tamen perſonæ ſine eſſentiâ ſunt — Veteres ad Perſonas tantum nomen Trinitatis retulerunt — Quarum rerum dices eſſe Trinitatem? Reſpondes, tria concurrere, Eſſentiam, Filium, & Spiritum. Hinc verò plane perſpicitur te eſſentiam Filii & Spiritus exinanire.* This conceit of *Valentinus*, that the *Eſſence*, *Sonne*, and *Spirit*, make the *Trinity*, did at once deny the Perſon of the Father, and the divine Eſſence of the Sonne and Spirit; for, obſerve how he puts in the Eſſence to make up the Trinity, and ſo left out the Perſon of the Father, and by oppoſing the other two Perſons to the Divine Eſſence, he did imply, that they had an Eſſence different from the Divine Eſſence. *Vbi ſupra* pag. 17.

Valentine having received this full anſwer from the Senate, was much enraged, but upon ſecond thoughts, he fell to his devotions, made ſome ſhew of repentance, and ſeemed to be ſatisfied; nay, hee proceeded ſo far as to write to the Senate, and acknowledge that he was fully convinced by the cleare and ſolid reaſons laid downe by the Conſiſtory, in their anſwer to his objections: Nay, farther yet, he deſcended to particulars, and confeſſed that they had manifeſtly proved, that thoſe three grounds upon which all his fancies were built, were all moſt falſe and abſurd. *Epiſtola Valentini Gentilis ad Senatū Genevenſem habetur in Explicat. Perfidiæ Val. Gent.* p. 27.

Firſt, ſaith he, *I have offended in that whileſt I affirmed, The onely God of Iſrael to be the Father of Ieſus Chriſt, I conſidered not that by oppoſing the onely God to Chriſt, I denied Chriſt to be God.*

Secondly, *I was too raſh in conſidering the Divine Eſſence out of the three Perſons, and concluding from thence, that the Eſſence and the Trinity of Perſons made a Quaternity: for now I perceive that the Divine Eſſence cannot be conſidered any where, but in the three Perſons.*

Thirdly, *I have offended, in that I ſaid the Perſon of the Father was Sophiſticall.*

Upon theſe rotten ruines (ſaith *Valentine*) *did I build many falſe conſequences, which now I doe abhor and deteſt, and profeſſe that I beleeve the doctrine of the Trinity in the ſenſe of your Conſiſtory; O my conſcience hath beene wounded for my inconſiderate anſwers to that excellent Divine and ſervant of God* John Calvin! *but I have acknowledged my faults with hearty ſorrow, and I make no queſtion but the ſearcher of hearts hath forgiven me; I beſeech you likewiſe to forgive me, for I beleeve that the trouble of my minde will bring forth ſuch fruits of repentance in my future converſation, as will wipe off this offenſive blot wherewith now I am beſpotted and ſtained. I hope the clemency of the holy Miniſters is ſuch, that they will receive ſuch a miſerable ſtray-beaſt as I am into their fold againe, and triumph at my converſion.* Hee proceeded farther yet, made a ſolemne and orthodoxe confeſſion of his faith, and a Recantation of his errors on the 29. of Auguſt 1558. At laſt having abjured his errors under his hand, the Senate in hope that his repentance was cordiall and ſincere, they commanded him to walke *bare-headed, bare-legged and bare-foote* thorow every ſtreet in the City, with a Trumpet blown before him, and a light in his hand, then to kneele downe, aske pardon of the Senate, and burne all his heretical Doctrines with his owne hand, all which he did upon the ſecond of September following. Behold the mercy of *Geneva* to one that was but hopefull, though he had beene an Heretick, a Schiſmatick, a Seducer, they forgave him, and gave him leave to come forth of priſon, without taking any Sureties, becauſe he pleaded that he was a ſtranger, and poore, onely they tooke an oath of him, that he ſhould not depart the City without their licence: but he ſoone brake his oath, and fled not far off to *Gribaldus* and *Alciatus*, two of his owne ſtampe, and faction; but he met there with a Governour of a reſolute ſpirit, who began to enquire into his dangerous opinions, and being fully informed of their deſperate malignancy, he committed him to priſon for a while, but not long after releaſed him, and gave him a faire warning, but no ſooner he enjoyed his liberty, but he preſently publiſhed

Abjuratio Val. Gentilis ipſius manu ſponte ſcripta, et ad Senatum Genevenſem miſſa. vide explicat. perfidiæ Val. Gentilis p. 28.

Erat in confinio pagus Fargiarum ubi habitabat Gribaldus — aderant ibidem Alciatus — in præfecturâ Gaienſi ditionis mag. Dom. Bernenſium Aretius Hiſtor. Val. Gent.

liſhed his opinions in print, and abuſed the Governour with a dedication, as if the book had been publiſhed by the Governors conſent and Authority. Not long after he travails to *Lyons* where he was impriſoned for the ſpace of 50. days, but he pretended that he did only oppoſe *Calvin* in the carriage of ſome controverſies, and by that meanes the Antichriſtian ſpirit, which reignes in the boſome of Papiſts, did incline them to forgive and releaſe him; it ſeems the Papiſts cares not what Article of faith be denyed, nor how much Jeſus Chriſt be diſhonoured, ſo *Calvin* be oppoſed, for by this ſilly ſhift he got off twice from the Papiſts. *Confeſſionem ita potuit attemperare ut à Papiſtis admitteretur, ſolùm Evangelicas Eccleſias, & nominatim Calvinum perſtringens, &c.* and by that means he made his firſt eſcape; his ſecond eſcape was obtained by the ſelfe ſame ſhift. *Libellum Antidotorum & confeſſionem ſic potuit attemperare ut judicaretur ſolum Calvinum impugnare, non ipſam Trinitatem. ideoq; ſolutus carceribus dimiſſus eſt*; as *Aretius* relates in his Hiſtory of *Valentine*. But hee was not ſatisfied yet, unleſſe he could beguile Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, he went therefore over into *Poland*, and joyned with *Alciat*, and *Blandrate*, in ſeducing the *Polonian* Churches, he confirmed his Doctrines by Sophiſtry, ſome fragments out of the Fathers, and ſome pieces of the *Alcoran*, to ſhew that he intended to pleaſe the Turks, as well as the Papiſts, and to quarrell only with the Proteſtants; his friend *Alciat* turned direct *Mahometiſt* being led to it by his principles; but *Valentine* expreſſed himſelf in a more reſerved and cunning way then *Alciat* or *Blandrate*, whereupon there fell out ſome difference between them, and ſo by Gods providence they did the leſſe hurt in *Poland*, but there they continued above two years, but at laſt the *King* of *Poland* took notice of them, and intended to have publiſhed an edict againſt their hereticall blaſphemies, but then the Antichriſtian ſpirit ſtirred up *Cardinal Hoſius*, to ſuggeſt another courſe to his Majeſty: but God moved the King to baniſh all ſtrangers, Innovatours in Doctrine, and Perturbers of the Peace, out of his kingdome, upon the 5. of March, in the yeare 1566. Being baniſhed out of *Poland*,

Gratianopoli.

Lugduni.

Quid interea bonus ille Hoſius Cardinalis cum ſuis Catholicis? nempe videre ſuaviter noſtros undique ad extinguendum hoc incendium accurrentes probroſis libellis laceſſere, Regiam denique Majeſtatẽ de coercendis iſtis blaſphemiis cogitantem a reſtis conſiliis pro viribus avocare; ac merito quidem: Quorſum enim Satan adverſus ſeipſum depugnaret? Beza Præfat. ubi ſupra.

and knowing that *Calvin* was dead, he thought fit to return into the old quarters, never dreaming that he ſhould have faln into the hands of the old Governour, whom he had formerly abuſed in ſo high a nature; but by divine providence the ſame perſon though it was not his turne, was governour of that province, (*vide ſupra*, p. 10.) as *Aretius* declares, *Gaium ipſum accedens, cui ſdē adhuc præfectus* (*prorogatâ forte ipſi extraordinem ejus provinciæ adminiſtratione*) *præerat*. *Valentine* thought it his beſt courſe, to put a good face upon the matter, and challenge any man to diſpute with him, but the Governour well knowing, that he had been often diſputed with, and fairly admoniſhed, cryed, *Fiat quod juſtum eſt*, and clapt him up cloſe priſoner, upon the 11. day of June, 1566. The province being under the juriſdictiō of the Senate of *Bern*, *Valentine* appealed from the Governor of *Gaium* to the Senate of *Bern*, & he was brought thither upon the 19. day of July. When he was examined, the Senate charged him with hereſy, Perjury, blaſphemy, Schiſm; and over and above that, he had joyned with *Alciat* and *Blandrate*, in ſeducing the ſimple people. To which he anſwered, that he had nothing to do with either of thē, for *Alciat*, ſaith he, is a *Mahumetan*, and *Blandrate* is a *Sabellian* and *Samoſatenian*; he complained that thoſe Churches which were called Evangelicall, or Reformed Churches, were ſtill too much enſlaved to the Pope; and yet when he was among the Papiſts he ſaw his own confeſſion, of that which he called his Faith, paſſed currant enough. *Noſtras eccleſias damnari quaſi adhuc Papatui ſervientes, quum interim ipſe inter Papiſtas conſtitutus poſſet confeſſionibus editis elabi.* He was queſtioned for a book which he dedicated to the King of *Poland*, in which he repeated the confeſſion of his faith, which was confuted at *Geneva*, and ſubjoyned his book of *Antidotes*, in which he indeavours to refute certain Theſes collected out of *Auguſtines* 15. *bookes, de Trinitate*, and the 13. chapter of *Calvins* firſt book of *Inſtitutions*, which treats likewiſe of the Trinity. Finally, he made ſome ſharp Annotations upon *Athanaſius*, and confirmed his own opinion out of the *Alcoran*. The Senate picked out all his Calumnies, Impoſtures, blaſphemies, hereſies old and new. Wherein

Neglecta juramēti religione ad errores abjuratos poſtlimi nio redibat.

Aretii Hiſt. Val. Gent. cap. 2. p. 11.

Valentine

Valentine agreed with *Arius*, is ſhewen by *Aretius*, in the 8. chapter of his Hiſtory; if any man deſire to peruſe the determinations of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Ignatius*, *Tertullian*, *Auguſtine* in this great article of the Trinity, he may read them at large in the ſame Hiſtory, from the 13. to the 17. chapter. I muſt haſten to bring *Valentine* to his deſerved puniſhment; the Senate had treated with him, from the 5. of Auguſt to the 9. of September, and he remained ſtill ſtubborn, and pertinacious in his blaſphemies, and therefore the Senate pronounced ſentence of death upon him, which was accordingly executed; for he could not by prayers, teares, arguments, entreaties, be wrought upon to change his mind: he had a faire warning given him before, by the Senate of *Geneva*, if he had had the grace to have taken it, their Charge ranne high, and their Admonition was Prophetical. *Filium Dei quem prædicamus, in Diabolum transfiguras. Deum quem colimus, vocas Deum Turcarum, multaq; ejus generis, ſed vide miſer ne te præcipitaverit tuus furor ut voces emitteres quæ per jugulum redeant.*

Auguſt. 1566.

Reſcript. Senat. Genev. habetur in Explicat perfidiæ Val. Gens. p. 20.

It is now time to draw the curtain and look for *Socinus* who moſt of this while, played leaſt in ſight, till he went quite out of ſight, in the yeare 1562. *Lælius Socinus* was the tutor and unckle, *Fauſtus Socinus* was the Nephew and diſciple; *Lælius* did contribute materials, *Fauſtus* added Form and method to that monſtrous body of errours and blaſphemies which we call *Socinianiſme*. *Lælius Socinus* was borne in the yeare, 1525. his parents were of good rank and quality, his Father was ſtyled, *IC. torum Princeps*. The life of *Socinus* is written by a *Polonian* Knight, who was tender of his honour, who hath alſo ſet forth a diſſertation, which he deſires may be prefixed before the works of *Fauſtus*, or rather the notions of *Lælius* digeſted into order by *Fauſtus*; and out of thoſe two treatiſes we may pick ſomething to give light to the originall of *Socinianiſme*; but we are moſt beholding to D. *Calovius*, who hath handled this argument more diſtinctly, then any man that I have met with, and he ſaith that about four yeares after *Servetus* his death in the year 1557. *Lælius Socinus* did underhand encourage them who had raked in *Servetus*

Origo Socinianiſmi a Lælio fuit ratione Inventionis, a Fauſto ratione Diſpoſitionis.

Eques Polonus in vitâ F. Socini. Diſſertatio quam eques Polonus F. Socini operibus præmitti voluit. Abraham Calov. Decas Diſſertat.

tus aſhes, and blowed ſome coales that were yet alive, and from thence raiſed a blacker flame. *Lelius* then, no doubt, favoured *Valentine*, for about the year 1558. *Valentine* began to ſhew himſelf, and in that year the *Italian* Church put forth their orthodox confeſſion about the Trinity at *Geneva*, as hath been already ſhewed. Moreover the *Polonian* Knight ſaith, that *Lelius* did take ſpeciall care of his country-men, *quodq; præcipue ſuos erudierit Italos:* and though *Lelius* did keep his moſt uſuall reſidence amongſt the *Helvetians*, yet his letters travelled up and down the world, and he now and then viſited his countrymen in perſon, who were baniſhed into *Poland*, and *Germany*; he went twice on pilgrimage, to gaine ſome Proſelytes in *Poland*, firſt in the year, 1551. and afterwards in the yeare, 1557. and there he infected many of the Nobles with his peſtilent hereſies, which have found ſuch good entertainment ever ſince, that *Poland* doth to this very day (the Lord of heaven be mercifull to them) labour under that deadly diſeaſe. But it was *Lelius* his chief deſire to inſtruct his three brethren, *Celſus*, *Cornelius*, and *Camillus*, in that which he called his religion; and though they lived farre aſunder, (*Celſus enim Bononiæ, reliqui Senis agebant*) yet they held ſuch intimate correſpondence, that the ſeeds of this hereſy were mutually cheriſhed by their frequent letters. But his nephew *Fauſtus* was his beſt Scholar, and therefore by divers hints and intimations beſt acquainted with the ſecrets of his art. *Ingenio Nepotis confiſſum plura divinanti invniſſe, quàm diſcenti tradidiſſe*; (ſaith the Polonian Knight) *vondiſſimulato inter amicos præſagio plenius hæc atq; felicius à Fauſto orbi prodenda*; and *Fauſtus Socinus* doth acknowledge that he did owe all his myſterious knowledge to his Uncle only, (for he was never taught of God) *Præter unum Lelium patruum meum—vel potius præter pauculà quædam ab ipſo conſcripta & multa annotata, nullum prorſus magiſtrum me habere contigit. Epiſt. ad Marc. Sq.* You may read particulars in D *Calovius* (pag. 2. & ſequ.) I need not therefore deſcend to particulars ſince the confeſſion is ſo generall; only be pleaſed to obſerve that the hereſy doth directly ſtrike at the Nature, Perſon, Offices, Satisfaction, Sacraments of Chriſt. And as the

Licet Tiguri apud Helvetios ſedem fixiſſet, ad alias tamen Europæ regiones non ſemel ex ſumeret.

the *Arminians* are much offended with the ninth chapter to the *Romanes*, ſo the *Socinians* are as much offended with the firſt chap. of the Goſpel according to Saint *John*; it was therefore *Lælius* one of his maſter-pieces to pervert that Scripture by a deviliſh gloſs. I dare not give a more gentle Epithet: *Fauſtus* doth confeſſe that his Uncle *Lælius* did contribute all the ſtuffe out of which he framed his expoſition upon the firſt part of the firſt Chapter of Saint John; *Illam verborum Johannis expoſitionem, & quæ ad eandem aſſerendam produxit, ſeſe magnâ ex parte è Lælii ſermonibus, dum adhuc viveret, & poſt ejus mortem ex aliquibus ipſius ſcriptis ſumpſiſſe & deprompſiſſe.* *V. Frag. duor. ſcript. Socin. & Epiſt. 1. ad Dudith. pag.* 13. But though *Lælius Socinus* carried matters thus cloſely, and did all by ſleight of wit and hand, yet about 3. yeares before his death he was ſhrewdly ſuſpected for a Seducer, his brother *Cornelius* was apprehended, the reſt fled for fear, *Fauſtus* his Nephew and diſciple, fled quite out of *Italy*, to *Lyons* in *France*, *Lælius* in the mean time died in the yeare 1562. and the 37. yeare of his age, as *Calovius* aſſures me: *Cum Fauſtus aliquandiu Lugduni in Gallia viveret, Lælius interim Tiguri extinctus eſt anno* 1562. *Ætatis ejus ſeptimo ſupra trigeſimum.* All *Lælius* his notes were I beleeve committed to *Fauſtus*, *qui patruo ſuo Lælio emortualis extitit*, as the ſame Author, *de origine Theol. ſoc.* §. 25. and therefore certainly moſt of his opinions would have died with him, had not this unlucky *Fauſtus* poyſoned the world with them. For *Fauſtus* himſelf acknowledges that *Lælius* was very ſparing in opening himſelf, except it were in ſome lighter controverſies. *Nolebat ille ſententiam ſuam niſi in levioribus quibuſdam controverſiis omnibus aperire, ne turbarentur Eccleſiæ, & infirmi quorum maximam ſemper habuit rationem offenderentur, & à vero Dei cultu ad Idola fortaſſe iterum adducerentur. Frag. F. Socini Diſp. de Chriſti naturâ p.* 5. Obſerve by the way that the *Socinians* doe not much differ from the *Papiſts* in any point in controverſie between the Papiſts and Reformed Churches, unleſſe it be in the point of Idolatry. But indeed there was one reaſon more why *Lælius* was ſo wary, he knew how it fared with *Michael Servetus* in the year 1553. & that ſevere

Veruntamen ut unicuique ſua conſtet laus

Me & ſententiam illam in Iohannis Evangel. Verbis explicandis, & qua ad eam aſſerendam vel jam dixi vel poſthac dicturus ſum magnâ ex parte ex Lælii Socini Senenſis ſermonibus dum adhuc viveret, & poſt ejus mortẽ ex aliquibus ipſius ſcriptis quæ in manus meas non abſq; mirabili Dei operâ atque conſilio pervenerunt & hauſiſſe & deſumpſiſſe non minus libenter quam ingenue fateor. Frag. 3. duorum Script. F. Socini pag. 4. & 5.

ſevere example might well keep him in awe for 8. or 9. years after, about which time he died: and indeed *Fauſtus* ſeems to glance at ſome ſuch reaſon, for he ſaith *Lelius* had obſerved that there was a cuſtome which grew in requeſt in ſome Churches, *ut Execrabiles haberentur quicunq; adverſus receptas ſententias vel mutire quidē auſi eſſent*, in the place forecited. Nay I can eaſily gueſſe at a third reaſon yet, becauſe *Lelius* had in former time before he was poyſoned with *Servetus* his doctrines taught the ſame truths which are generally received in the Reformed Churches, and if he ſhould have retracted ſo many opinions, the people would not have beleeved him in any thing he had taught, but would have quite faln off to Popery againe, as he conceived: for the people had a great opinion of his doctrine, though he was neither Doctour nor Paſtor in the Church. *Neve tandem divina veritas ab eo prædicata (qui neq; Paſtoris neq; Doctoris officio in Eccleſia fungeretur) ob auctoris non parvam* (I beleeve it ſhould be, though 'tis printed *magnā*) *auctoritatē magno Chriſtiani orbis detrimento paſſim rejiceretur. Fauſtus Diſp. de Chriſti natura, pag. 6.* It was therefore *Lelius* his maſter-plot to propound doubts & queſtions to ſuch famous men as *Calvin*, & others in the Reformed Churches, as if he intended to gain ſome farther light (when indeed he ſought for further advantage) by their determinations. *Quod tamen ut omnem offenſionem vitaret addiſcendi tantum ſtudio a ſe fieri dicebat: qua tamen ratione ab initio idem vere ab eo factum fuiſſe veriſimile eſt, quare etiam Diſcipulum ſemper ſe, nunquam autem Doctorem profitebatur. Fauſtus ubi ſupra.* Maſter *Calvin* did eaſily perceive his ſubtilty, and therefore gave him a faire but ſharp admonition about the Calends of January, 1552. as the *Polonian* Knight doth confeſſe: *Si tibi per aereas illas ſpeculationes* (ſaith *Calvin*) *volitare libet, ſine me quaſo humilem Chriſti Diſcipulum ea meditari quæ ad fidei meæ ædificationem faciunt. Quod pridem teſtatus ſum, ſerio iterum moneo, niſi hunc quærendi Pruritum mature corrigas, metuendum eſſe ne tibi gravia tormenta accerſas.* *Fauſtus* ſaith that his Uncle was ſnatched away by an untimely death, *non ſine Dei conſilio*, that ſo thoſe great myſteries which God had revealed to none but *Lelius*, might be made known unto the

Vide Calovium de origine Theol. Soci. pag. 6 ſect. 16.

the world. *Cùm ſtatim fere poſt mortem ejus, eorum quæ ipſe palam docere non audebat pars aliqua & literis conſignari, & paſſim divulgari eſt cœpta; id quod eo vivente nunquam fortaſſe contigiſſet, amicis ex iis quæ ipſe ſcripſerat non adhuc plene edoctis, & adverſus præceptoris voluntatem aliquid eorum quæ ab ipſo didicerant in vulgus prodere minime audentibus. Hac ſcilicet ratione Deus quæ illi uni patefecerat omnibus manifeſta eſſe voluit. Fauſtus ubi ſupra*, pag. 6. & 7. I am at this great paines of tranſcribing, becauſe *Socinian* bookes are ſo deare, every man will not pay a groat a ſheete, the price that I am forced to, onely that I may declare the truth; ſo much for *Lælius*.

Fauſtus Socinus the Nephew of *Lælius* was borne in the yeare 1539. two houres and three quarters before Sun-riſing on the fift of December; ſo ſcrupulous are ſome in calculating the nativity of this monſter; and he himſelfe tooke notice of it in his Epiſtle *Ad excellentiſſimum quendam virum*; He was of no meane parentage, his father was by name *Alexander Socinus*, and for his Policie, *Subtilitatum princeps*, as he was deſervedly ſtiled; his mother was nobly deſcended, the Polonian Knight hath ſhewen her deſcent, *Matrem habuit Agnetem Burgeſii Petruccii Senenſis quondam Reipub. Principis ac Victoria Piccolomineæ filiam*. He ſtudied the Lawes till he was about three and twenty yeares of age, and then hee betooke himſelfe to the great *Duke* of *Hetruria* his Court, where he ſpent twelve yeares, onely he had ſo much leiſure at Court, as to write a booke about the authority of the Scripture, in which he doth ſlily pervert the Scriptures, and lay a ground for all his hereticall blaſphemies. This is all the account that can be given of him for 35. yeares. I doe not heare of any great brags (though the *Socinians* doe make loud brags of him) of his Logique, Philoſophy, Schoole-divinity, the learned tongues, onely he ſpent ſome two or three yeares in digeſting his Uncles Notes, and then thought he had learning enough to *contradict* all the *Fathers* and *Councels*, and undertooke to cenſure all the Reformed Churches, and to diſpute with the greateſt Scholars in the world: the preſumption of his wit, beſides the badneſſe of his cauſe, did betray him to his adverſaries, eſpecially in the firſt prizes he

played, and he was ſo ſubtile as to ſeeme ingenuous in acknowledging ſuch overſights as he could not poſſibly conceale: *Quod vero ais* (ſaith *Fauſtus* to *Puccius*) *ſupellectilem meam Hebraam & Græcam— teipſum latere non poteſt ejuſmodi meam ſupellectilem non valde curtam modò, ſed propemodum nullum eſſe; Græcos enim fontes, ut egomet omnibus dico, leviter admodum deguſtavi, Hebræos vix dum attigi, &c. Socin. Reſp. ad Def. Puccii*, pag 49. And he confeſſes that he made a great flouriſh in the world before he had any Logick, hee had vapoured againſt *Puccius*, *Palæologus*, *Volanus*, and divers others, he had compoſed a Commentary on the firſt part of the firſt Chapter of S. *Iohn*, and on the ſeventh to the Romans, his Animadverſions *in Theſes Poſn. de Trino & uno Deo, & alia quædam Imperfecta*, as he ſaith, *cum nondum Dialecticæ ullam operam dediſſem, ut poſthac non mireris ſi in meis ſcriptis multa deprehenderis minus rectè tradita ac concluſa. Epiſt. ad excellentiſſimum quendam virum.* It was no wonder indeed if a man that underſtood neither Greek nor Hebrew, nor Logick, ſhould give many interpretations, and draw many Concluſions which will not hold. Now whether after the delicacies of the Court, and 35. yeares of his age miſ-ſpent, he was ſo apt to mould his ſtiffe braines, and new-caſt them into a Logicall forme, let the world judge. *Socinus* then was not the greateſt Scholar in the world, though hee thought himſelfe able to teach all the Church, and all the world. The *Polonian* Knight acknowledges that he was of an haſty cholerique diſpoſition, *præcipitem ad Bilem naturâ formaverat*; but it ſeemes his heat did evaporate at Court, *In vitâ aulicâ deferbuiſſe juvenilem illum Socini æſtum, qui plerumque magna in magnos lapſus præcipitat ingenia*; and yet *Marcellus Squarcialupus Socinus* his good friend doth often complaine of him for his raſhneſſe, &c. as *Calovius* ſhewes at large: you may reade plentifull teſtimonies cited at length, *Conſid. Th. Socin. pag.* 13. & 15. to him therefore I referre you.

Fauſtus then had more ſubtilty then learning; when he was not able to prove his opinions, he told his Auditours, *Hæc ſi vera non ſint, veriſimilia ſaltem & probabilia deprehendetis.* He was of a malignant wit, hee knew how to diſgrace truth by ſcoffes

ſcoffes and ſlanders, he thought to affright weake ſpirited men from the Proteſtant Religion, by telling them that they held opinions (in particular that Chriſt is God) which made *Chriſtian Religion ridiculous to Iewes and Turkes, Et exteris denique omnibus*, but names none elſe. *Hæcque & hujuſmodi alia quædam, quorum anſam illis dedit græca vox* * λόγος, *ingenioſe quidem (ut illis videtur) & fœliciter comminiſcuntur quæ omnia— cùm ridicula magna ex parte appareant efficitur (proh dolor!) ut Jeſu Chriſti religio— & Judæis & Turcis & exteris denique omnibus maximè ſit ludibrio. Explicat. cap. prim. Ioh. pag.* 9. Our *ſuperſtitious* men of late preſſed us to comply with them, in hope of converting *Papiſts* from their ſuperſtition, by conforming our ſelves to the ſelfe ſame ſuperſtition, and now the *Socinians* would have us to deny *Chriſt* to be God, that we may *convert Turkes and Iewes to the Chriſtian faith*: as if the beſt way to convert men to the Chriſtian faith, were to deny a prime Article of our Chriſtian faith; or as if Jews and Turks would have a better opinion of Chriſt, if the Chriſtians ſhould deny him to be God, and ſo harden them in their beloved blaſphemies; and yet *Fauſtus Socinus* ſaith his friends did encourage him to write againſt that inveterate figment of the divine nature of Chriſt, *Hac enim ratione— & Iudæos & Turcas ad Chriſtianam religionem allici poſſe, qui portentoſis iſtis opinionibus quæ Chriſtianæ fidei Axiomata eſſe credantur ab eâ amplectenda ſemper ſunt deterriti. Fauſtus, ubi ſupra*, pag. 2.

* *Harticei Alogi ſive Alogiani dicti quia* λόγον *à Iohanne deſcriptum & proinde ipſum etiam Evangelium, ſecundum Iohannē rejiciebant. Vide Aug. de Hæreſ. 30. Vide Petrum Carolinum in Explicat. doctr. de uno vero Deo.* p. 16. *Nec non Eniedinū Explic. loc. V. & N.T.* pag. 136.

I ſhould tyre out my Reader, if I ſhould but reckon up the tricks and devices of this *Fauſtus*; for he pretended juſt as our Tranſlator here, to be a Reformer of the Reformers, nay of the Reformation it ſelfe; he makes many glorious pretences in his booke called *Solutio Scrupulorum*. God (ſaith he) in this laſt Age intends to make many new diſcoveries, and to Reforme his Church more thorowly then ever. *Luther* he confeſſes hath diſcovered truths enough to carry us to Heaven; *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* reformed the Church in matters of great weight and moment; they are juſtly to be extolled, becauſe they have purged the Church from ſuperſtition and Idolatry, and cauſed all falſe worſhips

to be abhorred; but he doth very ſlily intimate, that it was now left to him to confute all errors which *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* had not obſerved in the Church; for ſaith he, though the Idols Temple is laid levell with the ground, no man hath as yet ſet up the Temple of Chriſt: nay he goes farther, *Nec cæmenta & lapides ad illud extruendum parari*; and we may truly ſay, *Socinus lapides loquitur*, as the Comedian ſaid; and he knows full well how to daube with untempered morter. He hath written two other peſtilent Books, in which he hath moſt cunningly vented his poyſon, one is a booke which I never ſaw, *De SS. Scripturæ authoritate*, which *Calovius* tels is one of his moſt ſubtile pieces, and ſeemes to be one of his firſt Eſſayes: *Dominicus Lopez* a Jeſuit was ſo taken (or miſtaken) with it, as to print it in the yeare, 1588. The other Pamphlet is a briefe diſcourſe, *De cauſâ ob quam creditur aut non creditur Evangelio Ieſu Chriſti*. In this ſecond he ſpeakes plainer then in the former, as they ſay who have read both, and they conceive that it was purpoſely put forth as a Commentary upon the other; for *Socinus* did ſpeake more freely ſtill every yeare then other, accordingly as hee ſaw his Diſcourſes entertained and applauded by potent Abettours; he did not put his name to his Commentary upon *Iohn*, till he ſaw how it would take; *Libuit antequam nomen noſtrum prodamus aliorum exigui hujus laboris noſtri judicium cognoſcere. Explic. Ioh.* p.4. And *Calovius* ſaith, he did not put his name to it till whole Churches (Congregations I ſuppoſe he meanes) had ſubſcribed to *Socinus* his Tenets, *Calovius de Origine Theol. Soc.* p.19. He gained very much by his feigned modeſty, he ſaith it was his hearty deſire to bring all men to his opinion, yet ſuch was his charity and modeſty, that he would account them brethren, who counted him an Hereticke, and held his opinions to be pernicious, upon condition they did their beſt, to live in obedience to Chriſts precepts, and ſought in a faire way to convince him by Scripture, *Explic. cap. prim. Ioh.* pag.4. But though he pretended to be ruled by Scripture, it is moſt evident that all his Art was to withdraw men from hearkning to the plaineſt Texts of Scripture which doe contradict blinde carnall

Viderem Romani quidem Antichriſti regnũ ab omnibus dirui atque vaſtari, Idolorumque templa everti, interim tamen Chriſti regnum non reſurgere, ejuſque templum nedum à quoquam extrui, ſed ne Cæmenta quidem & lapides ad illud extruendũ ab aliquo parari. Socin. Explicat. Prim. ca. Ioh. p.2.

nall reaſon. He taught the world a new way of diſputing in Divinity; we were wont to argue thus, Whatſoever God ſaith is true: but God ſaith thus and thus; *ergo:* but he taught us to prove, That ſuch and ſuch a propoſition is true by the cauſes and proper effects firſt, or elſe ſaith he, it is abſurd to thinke that God ſaid any thing but truth, and therefore unleſſe it can appeare by ſome demonſtrative argument, that ſuch a propoſition is true, we muſt not pitch upon that propoſition, as the minde of the holy Ghoſt in any Text of Scripture; what ever the words of the Text ſeeme to hold forth unto us, wee muſt goe looke out for ſome other ſenſe which is agreeable to right Reaſon. *Rationis lumen quo Deus nos donavit aperte oſtendit non debere nec poſſe corporalem pœnam quam unus debeat ab alio perſolvi, idque etiam omnium gentium ac ſeculorum legibus ac conſuetudinibus perpetuo & maximo conſenſu comprobatum ſit,* as *Socinus* in his Tract *De ſervatore*; Behold how the light of Reaſon, the Laws, nay the Cuſtomes (and perchance ſome of them unreaſonable) of Nations muſt over-rule God, ſo that God himſelfe ſhall not be believed, if he doe not ſpeake conſonantly to my corrurpt reaſon, and our vaine Cuſtomes. It is cleare and evident, that whatſoever *Socinus* produces againſt Chriſts ſatisfaction, or our Juſtification, is a meere figment of his owne braine, for he onely urges ſome colourable arguments, which have but a ſhew or ſhadow of reaſon. But I ſhall not inſtance in more particulars now, becauſe I deſire to paſſe on and diſcover *Socinus* his ſubtilty, in ſcattering his errors abroad in *Sarmatia, Tranſylvania, &c.* and therefore this ſhall ſuffice for the Riſe of *Socinianiſme.*

Chap. II.

The Growth of Socinianiſme.

ILL weeds thrive apace; *Lelius* had ſowne his errors, as hath beene already ſhewen, in ſome five or ſixe yeares, within ten yeares ſpace there were whole Congregations

ſubmitted themſelves to the *Socinian* yoake in *Sarmatia* as Doctor *Calovius* aſſures mee, *Intra decennium integra Eccleſia acceſſerunt hareſi ejuſdem in Sarmatia, Conſid. Th. Soc. Proœmial.* pag. 65. And this Hereſie did ſpread ſo faſt in *Tranſylvania*, that within twenty yeares after there were ſome hundreds of Congregations infected, *Ut vix triginta elapſis annis aliquot Centuriæ Cœtuum talium ibidem numeratæ fuerint. Ibid.* What they maintained upon their firſt Apoſtaſie, may bee ſeene in a Booke, *De falſa & vera unius Dei, Patris, Filii, & S. Sti. cognitione.* It pleaſed God that *Franciſcus Davidis* the Superintendent of thoſe new perverted Proſelytes in *Tranſylvania*, did lay ſome rubs in the way of *Fauſtus Socinus*; for this *Franciſcus* deſired to know why Chriſt ſhould bee worſhipped or prayed unto any longer, if hee were not God? *Blandrate* and *Fauſtus* did lay their heads together to anſwer this Quere; but this ſame *Franciſcus Davidis* maintained ſtoutly that Invocation and Adoration were parts of divine honour due to God alone; This hapned about the yeare, 1578. ſome twenty yeares after the ſtirres which were in the *Italian* Church at *Geneva, ut ſupra.* But *Fauſtus* and *Blandrate* could not compoſe the tumults (or anſwer the objections) which *Franciſcus* had raiſed in *Tranſylvania*, and ſo *Fauſtus Socinus* was forced to returne with ſhame enough into *Poland*: But when *Fauſtus* could not doe what he would, he ſeemed to be content to joyne with the *Davidians*, as they were called from *Franciſcus Davidis*, as farre as they would goe hand in hand with him in oppoſing the Reformed Churches, and he did prevaile very much in a Synod about the yeare, 1588. in other points alſo which hee did cunningly winde in, and they greedily ſwallow; and he prevailed very farre the next yeare in another Synod, and within a matter of foure yeares, as *Calovius* ſaith, he brought over all (them whom he had wrought upon, to deny the Godhead of Chriſt) to ſubſcribe to the whole body of *Socinianiſme*: and no marvaile, for though there are many parts of *Socinianiſme* which have no rationall dependance upon the deniall of the Godhead of Chriſt; yet when once

Vide libellum Miniſtr. Sarmat. & Tranſyl. Alba Iulia edit. de falſa et vera, &c. D. Wigandi Servetianiſmum.

In Breſtenſi Synodo in finibus Lithuaniæ.

An. 1589. in Synodo Lublinenſi.

once men come to be ſofar blinded as to deny that glorious truth which ſhines ſo clearly in the Goſpell, it is no wonder if they ſee nothing at all. Beſides he was ſo wiſe as to ſtrike in with the Nobles, and the Courtiers, with the moſt youthfull and ſharp-witted Paſtors, and not only with ſubtile diſputants, but ſmooth Popular Oratours, men more able to corrupt the people, witneſſe *Petrus Steinius*; or *Statorius*, by whoſe unhappy eloquence the ſublimeſt ſubtilties of *Socinus* which tranſcended vulgar capacities, were ſo explained and ſmoothed in a popular, but plauſible way, that the moſt refined notions were made familiar to the common people; *Infœlici Steinii ſuadâ ſubtiles & à rudiorum captu remotiores Socini ſenſus populari ratione tradere & flexanimæ orationis genio cunctis probare poterat, &c.* This blaſphemous wretch did travaile, *ab extremâ Sileſiæ ora in intimam Lithuaniam*, that he might ſpread his errors, though he did thereby often endanger his life: he lived a long time, he was about 66. years of age when he died; though it was long ere he began to ſeduce as hath been ſhewn, yet he had 30. years time to infect a people that were too willing to be infected; he died, as *Calovius* informs me, in the yeare 1604. *Tandem anno ætatis quinto ultra ſexageſimum blaſphemam exhalat animam, Æra Chriſtiana* 1604.

Non exigua indies facta eſt acceſſio, præcipue inobilibus & in aula educatis —— us & a Iuniorum Paſtorum ordine, quippe qui propenſiores in nova dogmata, nec adeo in veritate confirmati fuerant, Calov. de Oriz Soc. pag. 70.

D. Calov. de diſt. Theol. Soc à Theol. SSti. pag. 73.

Vitaq; cum gemitu fugit indignata ſub umbras.

Chap. III.

The Danger of Socinianiſme.

LEarned *Grotius* may remember that there was a time when he himſelfe thought *Socinianiſme* to be very dangerous, *Cum hæreſis ſit venenum eccleſiæ, & quidem præſentiſſimum, ſed tamen hæreſeos aliqui ſint gradus, ut ſit hæc illâ nocentior, priorem aliam non reperiri hæreſi Socini, ad cujus etiam mentionem pii omnes exhorreant*, in his ſpeech to the States called *H. G. Pietas*. Certain all pious men may well tremble at the very mention of *Socinianiſme*, at the very repeating of their

H. Grotii Pietas, ad ord. Hollandæ.

their baſphemies. For my part I dare not call them *Chriſtians*, becauſe they deny the *Godhead* and *ſatisfaction* of *Chriſt*, they will not be baptized in the name of the Trinity, they labour to pluck up Chriſtianity by the roots, and to overthrow the very foundation of Religion. I cannot but blot out *Smalcius* his name out of the white roll of Chriſtians, if it were but for that one blaſphemy, *Chriſtianus eſſe poteſt qui divinam Chriſti eſſentiam negat. Smal. contr. nova monſtra.* An errour that takes away all Prayer to Chriſt, and worſhip of him, doth utterly deſtroy Chriſtian religion: but the denyall of the *Godhead of Chriſt* doth take away all prayer to Chriſt and worſhip of him, *ergo.* This argument was urged by *Franciſcus Davidis* and *Simon Budnæus*, but *Fauſtus Socinus (ut ſupra)* was not able to give any ſatisfying anſwer to this triumphing Reaſon. The *Socinians* are mad with reaſon, if they conceive it reaſonable to give Divine honour to any ſave God alone. None pretend to be greater enemies to Idolatry, then the *Socinians*, and yet they doe clearly maintain this Idolatrous principle, namely that *divine Honour* may be given to one whom they conceive to be a meer man, Chriſt bleſſed for ever.

Error Chriſti Eſſentiam & perſonam negans fidem deſtruit, & Chriſtianiſmum tollit. D. Stegm. Photin p. 6.

Vide Smalcium contra nova monſtra. Deum invocamus tanquam omnium bonorum ſolam ac primariam cauſam, Chriſtum verò tanquam ſecundariam Cauſam a primaria illâ plane pendentem —— à Deo quæcunque bona petimus à Chriſto ea ſolum qua ad Eccleſiam Chriſti ſpectant: Deus enim Chriſto ea largiendi poteſtatē conceſſit, non alia, inquit Socinus. Diſp. de Adorat. Chriſti cum Chr. Frank.

The *Socinian* Errour is *Fundamentall*, they deny Chriſts ſatisfaction, and ſo overthrow the foundation of our faith, the foundation of our Juſtification; they deny the Holy Trinity, and ſo take away the very Object of our Faith; they deny the Reſurrection of theſe Bodies, and ſo take away the foundation of our hope; they deny originall ſinne, and ſo take away the ground of our Humiliation, and indeed the neceſſity of regeneration; they advance the power of Nature, and deſtroy the efficacy of Grace. It is an *Antichriſtian* errour, becauſe it takes away the very Eſſence and Perſon of *Ieſus Chriſt*, for they deny him to be God, and ſo take away his Eſſence; they deny him to be the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, and ſo deſtroy his very perſon alſo. They doe in effect rob him of all his offices, for if Chriſt be not God, he is not that *great Prophet* foretold by *Moſes*, who is *Prince and*

Vide D. Stegman. Photin. Diſp. 1. pag. 6. Socinianiſmū Barlaus Peſtem & evertriculū eſſe Chriſtiana fidei dudum creduit, viamque ſternere ad παλινλεθρίαν ejus religionis quam precioſo ſuo ſanguine aſperſit æternus æterni Dei filius. Vindic. c. Barlæ pag. 8.

Ea quæ negantur a Socinianis ad duo capita revocari poſſunt, Θεολογίαν ſeu articulum de SS. Trinitate, & σωτηριολογίαν ſeu Articulum de humani generis Salute. vide Calov. Diſt. Th. Socin. a priſcis hæreſ. p. 111.

Author

Author of life, *Act.* 3. 15. 22. *ad finem*, *Act.* 7. 37, 38. Nor can he be a Prieſt able to ſave by the offering of himſelf, becauſe the merit of his ſacrifice depends upon the dignity of his perſon: the offering of a meer man cannot ſatisfy for ſo many thouſands of men: and therefore the *Socinians* having denyed the Godhead of Chriſt, deny that he hath given God full ſatisfaction. Nor can Chriſt be a King, who hath an heavenly and eternall kingdome by nature, if he be not God.

It is an *Anti-ſpirituall* errour, for they deny the Nature and Perſon of the holy Ghoſt, the ſpeciall grace and ſaving efficacy of the holy Ghoſt; they ſay, we can underſtand the deepeſt myſteries of faith, and beleeve in Chriſt without the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of the holy Ghoſt.

They overthrow the very nature of Faith, for they confound faith and workes; Obedience to Gods commands is faith it ſelfe, or the very ſubſtance and Forme of faith. *Fides* (*quâ juſtificamur*) *obedientiam præceptorum Dei non quidem ut effectum, ſed ut ſuam ſubſtantiam & formam continet. Socin. Miſcel. p.* 162.

They deſtroy the Morall Law which was delivered by *Moſes*, by ſaying that is imperfect. Chriſt came to fulfill (that is, ſay they) to make the Law perfect; and they overthrow the Goſpel, by ſaying that we are juſtifyed by the workes of the Law, and by their confounding of the Law of Faith, and the Law of workes; they ſay as the Jewes ſay, that the great work of the *Meſſiah* is to proclaime and confirme the Law, only they adde that it was his intent, *legem Moſaicam ceu minus perfectam perficere & locupletare*, and therefore they ſay, Chriſt and his Apoſtles did ſo often preſſe obedience to the Law, to ſhew that we are to be juſtifyed by the works of the Law: and hence it is that they call our bleſſed *Saviour*, *Moſen Moſiſſimum*, as if Chriſt had not preached the Goſpel, the Law of Faith, as the Apoſtle calls it, *Rom.* 3. 27. And by this meanes the Law of Juſtification by faith alone without the works of the Law, which is the ſcope of the Goſpel, is quite overthrown.

They ſet open a wide gap to Atheiſme, by denying that the ſoule of man can poſſibly ſo ſubſiſt by it ſelfe after this

life, as to be capable of joy or torment, of reward or puniſhment; they may when they pleaſe ſpeak plain Engliſh, and ſay, that there is neither Heaven nor Hell. *Animadvertendum eſt* (ſay they) *Chriſtum & Apoſtolos coactos fuiſſe quodammodo hominum opinionibus, quæ tunc plerunq; vigebant, ſe accommodare, quemadmodum ſatis aperte docet parabola Divitis & Lazari. Nam aliquem in inferno fuiſſe & ibi torqueri, in ſinu Abrahæ decumbere, ſunt plane fictitia, & ſimilia illis, quæ Poeta de Ixione, Siſypho, Tantalo ſcribunt: hâc etiam prudentiâ hodie apud vulgus Chriſtianorum in hac materiâ utendum, &c.* I have tranſcribed this out of Doctor *Joſuah Stegman* the Reverend *Superintendent* of *Scawenburg*, and when ever I cite *Stegman* briefly in the margin, I intend that learned Author, and not *Ioachimus Stegman* the grand *Socinian.*

Vide Stegman. Diſſus. 56 p. 656.

The *Socinians* deſire to take us off from giving any heed to the received interpretations of [a] *Fathers or Councells*, that ſo they may obtrude their own fancies and conceits upon us as ſolid, and Rationall, moſt accurate, but very moderate Interpretations, *vide Brev. Diſq. p. 7.* They of all men doe moſt affect the conduct of their own private ſpirit, which they call Right Reaſon; and though they pretend that we are more buſie in enquiring after the unanimous conſent of Fathers and Councels, then the true ſenſe of the Scriptures, yet they doe not endeavour by this out-cry to extoll and enthrone the Scriptures, but to ſet their own private ſpirit or [b] judgement in the chaire, which is indeed to make every man a *Pope.* This conceit of theirs cannot but take well with the multitude, *for every man* (as *Luther* ſaith) *is born with a Pope* in his belly; and with a *Pope in his braine too*, for every one would faine have his reaſon, his fancy to ſit Judge in all controverſies, every man is apt to think himſelf infallible, and that his *Private Judgement* ought to be the *Publike Standard.* Finally, every one deſires to give a Toleration or a Diſpenſation to himſelfe, that he may be allowed to maintain ſuch opinions and goe on in ſuch courſes as are generally condemned by the judgement of Learned and Pious men. There is another quarrell that they pick with the Reformed Churches, and that is for extolling their Doctours too high-

[a] *Neque Patres propterea recipiũt, quia eum Scripturâ conſentiunt; ſed ſcripturam eo modo in intelligendâ cenſent quia Patres eam explicarunt. Ideoque prius de unanimi Patrũ Conciliorũque conſenſu, quàm de vero Scripturæ ſenſu ſunt ſolliciti. Brev. Diſq. p. 7.*

[b] *Malle ſe Patribus iſtis, Conciliiſq; adhærere, quàm* Privatum, *ubi vocant,* Suum *de ſcripturis ſequi* iudicium. *Ib. pag. 7.*

ly

ly, ſuch as *Luther*, *Brentius*, *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, *Chemnitius*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zuinglius* and the reſt, but they would pardon this errour, if they did not oblige other men to ſtand to the Judgement of theſe and ſuch like Reverend Authours; if they might have but their liberty of prophecying according to their own private ſpirit or judgement they would be content, but that the Churches paſſe their cenſures upon ſuch as diſſent from the moſt received interpretations of Fathers, Councels and the Reformed Divines, though ſuch interpretations ſeem unreaſonable to the Private Judgement of our acute *Socinians*.

Hoc autem annexo eſt Eccleſiæ ejuſque Doctoribus controverſias cum alienâ obligatione judicandi Teſtatem adſcribere. Brev. Diſq. cap. 2. pag. 8, 9.

But there is a third fault greater then any of the former, & that is, that the Reformed Divines make the Holy Spirit ſpeaking in the Scriptures (and ſhining into the hearts and minds of men by a glorious light to enable them to underſtand the Scriptures) the Judge of controverſies, for by this means ſay they, the judgement of ſound Reaſon is made uſeleſſe and of none effect or Authority before the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt: this is an high fault indeed; we are it ſeemes in great danger of being ſeduced from the dictates of blind carnal reaſon to follow the light and voice of the Scriptures & the Holy Spirit. Beſides, there is another greater danger, if we follow the Spirit ſo much, we ſhal not be able to anſwer that Seraphique Doctour, *Valerianus Magnus*, his book, *de Acatholicorum credendi Regulâ Iudicio*, ſet forth at *Prague*, 1628. but it may be the book needs no anſwer, or they that follow the Spirit and the Scriptures are not at leiſure, they have better imployment.

Nimirum judicem ipſi Spiritui Sancto ſtatuunt: Saltem ſine eo nullum cuiquam de ſacris judicium concedere volunt. Quo ipſo Rationis Sanæ *judicium ante Spiritus ſancti illuſtrationem plane tollitur.* Diſq. Brev. cap. 3. pag. 9.

Brev. Diſq. cap. 4. Vera de judice ſententia. Itaque negandum eſt nullum certo aſſequi verum.

But let the *Socinians* ſpeak their minde clearely, then what is it they would have? why, they would throw the *Pope* out of his chaire, and they would ſit there themſelves by turnes, that ſo they may be *Popes* round; for every man ſay they hath reaſon enough before he is inlightned by the *Holy Ghoſt* to judge of the authority of Scriptures by Hiſtories, and other principles, and to collect out of the Scriptures compared, and the foreſaid principles, not onely all things neceſſary to ſalvation, but many profitable truths beſides, though not ſo neceſſary. I ſhould be very glad to

learne what thoſe other Principles are beſides the Scripture out of which we may collect truths neceſſary to ſalvation; for this you muſt look into the ſeventh Chapter of this *Brevis diſquiſitio, Caterùm ad ſacrarum literarum auctoritatem & genuinam mentem dignoſcendam principia etiam illa quæ Philoſophica appellant advocanda eſſe.* But if a man be no Scholar, why, then thoſe principles which are knowne to him by nature, and his owne obſervation, are the Rules whereby hee muſt examine; firſt, whether the Scriptures be the word of God, and then, what is the true ſenſe and meaning of them; if ſuch a man have but a good wit, a little experience (ſaith hee) will ſerve the turne. Nay, he affirmes that it will ſerve the turne, if by the helpe of thoſe good principles, his owne good wit, and conference with others, he do but heare the ſumme of thoſe few things which the *Socinians* conceive neceſſary to ſalvation, though he never heare or know, that there is any ſuch booke as the booke of God. M^r. *Chillingworth* comes very neere this Diſquiſition-monger in his accurate Treatiſe, for he ſaith, *The Scripture is not to be believed finally for it ſelfe, but for the matter contained in it, ſo that if men did believe the doctrin contained in the Scripture, it ſhould no way hinder their ſalvation not to know whether there were any Scripture or no*, chap. 2. pag. 65, 66. I thought it had beene neceſſary to have received thoſe materiall objects or Articles of our Faith, upon the authority of God ſpeaking in the Scriptures; I thought it had beene *Anabaptiſticall* to have expected any *Revelation* but in the *Word of God*; for a *Revelation*, nay a ſupernaturall revelation is neceſſary to help naturall reaſon, as the ſame M^r. *Chillingworth* acknowledges. *Knot* had very unhappily branded M^r. *Chillingworth* for a *Socinian*, becauſe he maintaineth, That nothing ought or can bee certainly believed, farther then it may be proved by evidence of naturall reaſon, (where I conceive, ſaith M^r. *Chillingworth*, naturall reaſon is oppoſed to ſupernaturall revelation) and whoſoever holds ſo let him be Anathema, Sect. 28. in his Anſwer to *Knots* Direction to *N. N.* Now let M^r. *Chillingworth* ſay, that either there is a Revelation to be expected out of the Word, as the *Enthuſiaſts* do, or elſe let him acknowledge, that God hath

Quare qui iſtis ſive naturali ingenii bonitate, ſive experientiâ vel mediocriter inſtructus eſt, is & ipſas Scripturas ſacras eſſe cognoſcet &c. Brev. Diſq. P. 55.

Quid quod principiorum iſtorum ope etiam is qui ſacras literas vel legere non poteſt, vel nunquam vidit, vel exſtare neſcit, &c. Ib. cap. 7. p. 35.

Reaſon is in ſome ſort Gods word ſaith Mr. Chillingworth. Anſwer to the Preface, *p.* 20.

hath ordained the Scriptures as the meanes and inſtruments to reveale ſaving truths, and let him teach men to depend upon the Ordinances of God, and not make men ſtand at a gaze to expect a Revelation in an extraordinary way. Or elſe let him ſpeake plaine, and ſay there is truth enough written in the hearts of every man by nature to ſave him, or that it may be learnt from Philoſophers writings; let him ſay as *Socinus* doth, that the ſubſtance of the promiſes is eternall life, that the maine thing God lookes after is practiſe, that *Heathens* and *Chriſtians* have the ſame practicall rules written in their heart, and ſo if a man doe but hope for eternall life by obſerving theſe practicall rules (as many Heathens did, witneſſe that verſe of *Phocylides*,

Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν,

and the Diſcourſes of *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Hermes*, &c.) hee may be eternally ſaved; and then we ſhall know how free he is from *Socinianiſme*. Or elſe let him confeſſe, that naturall Reaſon being helped by a ſupernaturall Revelation in the Word, is not able to diſcerne ſaving truths, ſo as to beleeve them after a ſaving manner, without the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of the holy Ghoſt, ſuch aſſiſtance as is vouchſafed to none but the Elect of God, and then I will acknowledge that he is no *Socinian*. But otherwiſe, if either he thinke as he ſeemes to thinke, that all the materiall objects which are neceſſary to ſalvation, may be knowne out of ſome other booke then Scripture, or by ſome other meanes; and that if a man beleeve them meerely as truths probable by reaſon, and doe not receive thoſe truths as the Oracles of God, but dictates of Reaſon, then ſure he may be a *Socinian* ſtill; nay, if he hold a *ſupernaturall Revelation* by the Word to be neceſſary, it being the meanes which God hath ordained, and ſo is made neceſſary to us by Gods ordinance; yet if hee thinke this outward revelation to be ſufficient, without the inward and ſpeciall revelation of the Spirit, he may be a *Socinian* ſtill.

But this by the way, I ſhall ſay the leſſe of Mr. *Chillingworth*, when I come to touch upon his Booke; ſure I am, ſuch dangerous principles as theſe, will beate greene heads

from the ſtudy of the Scriptures, if they be not cenſured upon every occaſion. I know Maſter *Chillingworth* proteſts that he is willing to ſtand to the judgement of the Catholique Church, of this and former ages, to the *conſent* of *Proteſtants*, the *Church of England*; but if he put in the *Papiſts* into the *Catholicke Church*, as I beleeve he will; then he will ſay the *Papiſts* doe not agree, and therefore the Catholick Church of this age is not againſt the *Socinians*; nay the *Fathers* doe not all agree, and ſo there is not a Catholick conſent of the Ancients, as Mr. *Chillingworth* I beeleeve did purpoſely ſhew at large in the eighteenth *Section* of his Anſwer to *N. N.* that ſo he might winde himſelfe out the better in this 28. Section: Nay, peradventure he will put the *Socinians* in for to give a vote, if you aske for the conſent of the Catholique Church of this Age, for hee cals them a company of *Chriſtians* in the 29. Section; and though he ſaith, *They are erroneous in explicating* (he doth not ſay *in denying*) *the myſteries of Religion, & allowing greater liberty in ſpeculative matters*, (ſo the *Socinians* call the *Articles* of the *Chriſtian faith*) *then any other company of Chriſtians* doth, or they ſhould doe, yet for their honour he ſaith, they *explicate the Lawes of Chriſt with more rigour and leſſe indulgence to the fleſh then the Papiſts doe*, and that is true, but not much for their commendation, becauſe they thereby diſgrace the Morall Law of God, and ſay it was imperfect, till Chriſt gave new Lawes; but Mr. *Chillingworth* was willing to take any occaſion to commend them. Moreover if Mr. *Chillingworth* by the Church of *England*, meane the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* and his *faction*, then indeed there will not be a generall conſent of the *Church of England* againſt the *Socinians*. Once more, if he take in all the *Arminians*, and ſome *Ieſuited Papiſts*, that (as *Vertumnus Romanus* preſcribes) come to Church and heare our *Common prayers*, and receive the Sacrament in ſome Congregations in this Kingdome, though they bee of Mr. *Fiſher*, or Mr. *Flued* his minde, and ranke all theſe amongſt Proteſtants (for we have had ſtrange kinde of *Proteſtants*

Arch-Biſhop of Cant. his Relation. pag.——150.

The Church of Rome did promulgate an Orthodoxe truth, which was not then Catholickely admitted in the Church, namely the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son: if ſhe erred in this fact, confeſſe her error.

The generall Councell held at Ariminum, did deny the Sonnes equality with the Father; the Councell at Epheſus did confound the two natures in Chriſt. *Vide Calovium de Conſenſu Patrum ante Concilium Nicenum.*

Socinani Trinitatem Ceiberum, Chriſtum Spurium, Incarnationē Chriſti monſtrum abſurditatis, Satisfactionem commentum appellitant. D. Stegman. pag. 22. En Chriſtianos Chillingworthianos.

teſtants for theſe twelve yeares laſt paſt,) then I beleeve there will not be a generall conſent of ſuch *Proteſtants* againſt the *Socinians*; and ſo Mr. *Chillingworth* may oppoſe *Socinianiſme*, when all theſe agree together to oppoſe it. But indeed hee hath one Argument which makes me beleeve that he and more of that faction who countenance many *Socinian* errors, doe not agree with the *Socinians* in all points, becauſe *Socinianiſme* if it be taken in all its demenſions, is ſuch a Doctrine by which no man in his right minde can hope for any honour or preferment either in this Church or State, or in any other. Many men do indeed adventure as farre as they dare this way, onely they are afraid of thwarting the great Deſigne, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew. I dare not excuſe Mr. *Chillingworths* dangerous principles, though I account him a very rationall man, yet I beleeve him to be the more dangerous, I dare not therefore give him that liberty which he gives others, and cry, *Quiſque abundet in ſenſu ſuo*, becauſe they are not the words of S. *Paul*, though Mr. *Chillingworth* father them upon him, *chap.* 2. *pag.* 92. the words of the Apoſtle are, *Let every man be fully perſwaded, or aſſured in his own minde*, Rom. 14.5. I goe on to ſhew the danger of *Socinianiſme*. It is an *Hotch-potch* of *Gentiliſme*, *Turciſme*, *Judaiſme*, and I know not what, they have put in ſome ſcruples of Chriſtianity to make up the meſſe. The *Centuriatours* ſay, that *Mahomet* did compoſe his *Alcoran* by the helpe of the *Iewes*, and *Iohannes Antiochenus* an *Arian*: and truly *Turciſme* doth much ſavour of *Iudaiſme* and *Arianiſme*. Now *Socinianiſme* is compounded of the ſelfe ſame ingredients, *Socinus* borrowed very much from *Servetus*, and *Servetus* from the *Alcoran*, as *Wajekius* proves, and *Socinus* doth acknowledge, *vide Antiwajek.* Soc. pag. 33. They ſay we hinder the converſion of the *Turks*, by departing ſo far from them; whereas they agree with Turks in denying the Godhead, eternall generation, meritorious ſatisfaction of Chriſt, in blaſpheming the Trinity: *Paul Alciat*, and *Adam Neuſer*, two *Socinians* turned *Turks*; nay the *Turks* diſcourſe more ſolidly about the *Preſcience* of God, then the *Socinians*, or *Arminians* doe.

The

Criminantur Reſurrectionem ejuſdem carnis eſſe prorſus Mahometanam & Iudaicam, Calov. Diſt. Theol. Soc. a pius. hæreſ. p. 104.

The Reſurrection of theſe very bodies was believed by none but *Iewes* and *Turkes* at firſt, (as the *Socinians* would make us believe) and the *Proteſtants* have received it from them.

They open a gap to an Atheiſticall *Libertiniſme*, by promiſing ſalvation to all Hereticks, ignorant perſons, if they live but chaſt, ſober, juſt lives, and expect eternall life, for that is the ſumme of the promiſes, and they need not know or beleeve more: all the myſteries of faith are by them counted but meere notions, ſpeculations at beſt, and it is no great matter if men have diverſe and contrary opinions about them, they may all fare well enough; truly I thinke one as well as another, if there be neither heaven nor hell.

Regem ſine regno, Caput ſine membru, vitem ſine ramis, Chriſtum ſine Eccleſiâ ſommiant: fidei articulum de Catholicâ Eccleſia uſque ad finem mundi evertunt.

Socinians are not to be permitted in any Church, for they deny that there is as yet any *Triumphant Church* above, nor is it neceſſary that there ſhould be any *Militant Church* here below. The *Arminians* jumpe with them in the ſame conceit, they ſay, *Chriſt may bee a King without a kingdome, an Head without a body: Neque verò neceſſe eſſe credimus ad hoc ut Chriſtus rex & caput maneat in terris Eccleſiam veram ſemper eſſe.* Their reaſons are, becauſe Chriſts kingdome doth rather conſiſt in his owne Soveraigne Authority, then in the obedience and ſubjection of any people. Beſides, if there were a neceſſity of it that there muſt be a Church on earth, then Chriſts people would not be a free willing people, and ſo there would be no ſpirituall Church, if they are not left at liberty, to accept or refuſe Chriſt; ſure that is a *rebellious Liberty*, for a liberty to reject Chriſt, is a liberty to rebell.

No man they ſay need inquire after the true Church, much leſſe is it neceſſary that he ſhould be a member of the true Church, *Ubinam quaſo eſt ſcriptum Chriſtum præcipiſſe ut unuſquiſque inquirat, & norit quanam ſit vera Eccleſia? Socinus de Eccleſ. Theſ.*

They would not have any marks given of a true Church, I ſuppoſe for fear theirs ſhould be diſcovered to be a falſe; but eſpecially they deny, that the pure preaching of the word is a note

note of the true Church, for with jeaſting *Pilate* they aske, What is Truth? How ſhall it appeare, ſay they, that any Church preaches the ſaving Truth? Nay *Arminians* and *Socinians* both tell us, that there is no need of preaching: ſaving Truths are ſufficiently manifeſted they ſay, and yet it ſeemes it is not ſufficiently manifeſted to them, for they cannot tell what it is. They doe not ſee any great uſe of the Sacraments, they cannot believe that the ſprinkling of water upon the body, ſhould have any ſpirituall effects upon the ſoule; they cannot believe that our faith can bee ſtrengthened, our pardon ſealed, Chriſt and his benefits imparted to us by eating of Bread, and drinking Wine. Now ſure a Church that is without Miniſters, Sacraments, markes or ſignes of a true Church, would be but an empty Titular Church, and to ſuch a Church onely ſhould *Socinians* be admitted.

Socinians are not to be ſuffered in any *State*, for they will not ſhew any obedience or reſpect to Magiſtrates; they ſay, they have no power to puniſh hainous offenders in time of peace, nor have they power to defend themſelves or the people by the Sword, in time of Warre. But eſpecially, they charge the Magiſtrates to beware how they meddle with good honeſt Hereticks, for all Hereticks in the opinion of *Arminians* and *Socinians* (who ſpeake favourably in their owne cauſe) are good pious men. What they ſay of the Law of Nations, or of a particular State, I had rather you ſhould reade in their Writings then in mine.

I beleeve your patience is already tyred with this brieſe narration, if any deſire to be farther ſatisfied in particulars let them reade this book.

Chap. IV.

Whether England hath been, or ſtill is in danger to be farther infected with Socinianiſme.

FArther infected I ſay, for it is too evident that it hath been in ſome meaſure already infected with this peſtilent hereſie. I know the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did pretend to cruſh this cockatrice of *Socinianiſme*, but all things being conſidered, it is to be feared that his Canon was ordained for concealing, rather then ſuppreſſing of *Socinianiſme*; for he deſired that none but his own party ſhould be admitted to the reading of *Socinian* books, it was made almoſt impoſſible for any that were not of his party, to take the degree of *Batcheloar* of *Divinity* (I can ſay more in that point then another) or at leaſt improbable they ſhould have means to pay a groat a ſheet for *Socinian* books.

It is well known that the *Arch-Biſhop* did highly favour, and frequently employ men ſhrewdly ſuſpected for *Socinianiſme*. Maſter *Chillingworth*, to ſpeak modeſtly, hath been too patient, being ſo deeply charged by *Knot* for his inclining towards ſome *Socinian* Tenets: no man in Saint *Ieromes* opinion ought to be patient in ſuch a caſe, and ſure no innocent man would be patient. Mr. *Chillingworth* hath not yet anſwered—*Chriſtianity maintained*. The *Proteſtants* doe not own many of thoſe principles which are ſcattered in Maſter *Chillingworths* book, and *Knot* could obſerve that he proceeded in a deſtructive way, juſt as the *Socinians* doe. The *Reformed Churches* abroad wonder that we could finde no better a *Champion* amongſt all our Worthies; they who travailed hither out of forrain parts bleſſed themſelves when they ſaw ſo much froath and grounds, ſo much *Arminianiſme* and vanity in Maſter *Chillingworths* admired peece: What doth it advantage the *Proteſtant* cauſe, if the Pope be depoſed

Spreta haud exoleſcet ejuſmodi calumnia. ſed agnita videbitur apud nimis malos, aut nimis credulos, aut minus amicos. Vind. C. Barlæ p. 7.

Naturall Reaſon (ſaith Mr. *Chilling.*) then built on principles common to all men is the laſt reſolution unto which the Churches Authority is but the firſt Inducement; in the margin. pag. 65.

Mr. *Chill.* counts himſelfe no *Socinian* becauſe he holds Supernaturall Revelation requiſite to help naturall Reaſon. Preface ſect. 28. Yet he ſaith Scripture is not beleeved Finally for it ſelf. pag. 65. that a man may be ſaved who knowes not whether there be any Scripture or no. pag. 66.

depoſed from his infallible chair, and *Reaſon* enthroned that *Socinianiſme* may be advanced ?

It may be humane prudence and ordinary diſcretion did adviſe Mr. *Chillingworth* to uſe no more induſtry in finding out the truth; or he hath not been at leiſure becauſe of ſome hindrances and diſtractions; and then he hopes that none of his errours will be imputed to him. ſp. 19. Anſwer to the Preface.

But I am afraid Doctor *Potter* may take it unkindly that I have named Maſter *Chillingworth* before him; for his Grace employed Doctour *Potter* firſt, and he was cryed up as a *Patrone* of the *Proteſtant Profeſſion*, but he ſowred his *Calviniſme* with ſo much *Arminian leaven*, and ſweetned *Popery* with ſome ſuch gentle *Scruples* of *Moderate Divinity* as they call it, that the *Jeſuites* laughed in their ſleeves, and *Knot* was ſo pleaſant that he could ſcarce refrain from laughing openly.

I would willingly know whether D. *Potter* doth not take in the Socinians into his Chriſtian world. p. 255. Why he makes the Church of England to take part with the Jeſuites againſt *Piſcator* and *Calvin*, & implies that *Calviniſme* is, as the black-mouthed *Sorboniſt* called it, *Beſtiarum Religio*. p. 256, 257, 258. *Edit.* 2.

Mangones hæreſium ſub pratextu moderationis Theologia è noſtris eccleſiis verè Reformatis exierunt. Joh. Peltius.

Remonſtrantes aiunt ſeſe cum omnibus aliis ſectis, imò ne Socinianis exceptis fraternitatem poſſe colere, excepta Reformata Eccleſiâ. Apolog. ad Cenſur. Prof. Leid.

Arminianos & Socinianos in viginti & ultra articulis per varios paragraphos diſtinctis convenire probatum dedit I. Peltius.

That theſe two great Champions doe vent *Arminian* principles is manifeſt to any man that hath but peeped into their books. Now that *Arminianiſme* is a fair ſtep to *Socinianiſme* hath been ſufficiently proved by *Bodecherus*, (though he hath been derided, he hath not been anſwered) *Peltius*, *Vedelius* and others, ſo that I need ſay no more in that point.

What Art and care hath been uſed to propagate the *Arminian* errours in *England*, would require a large volume, and I had laid open all their ſleights and projects (had not my bookes and notes been ſeiſed on) to the full: God may give me opportunity to ſay ſomething to that point yet before I finiſh my courſe.

The Church of *Scotland* complains of his Grace, for he firſt protected *Wederburn*, when he fled from *Scotland* for fear of the Church-cenſures, becauſe this *Wederburn* had poyſoned the young ſtudents in Divinity with *Arminianiſme* in the new Colledge at Saint *Andrews*; his Grace made the ſame *Wederburn* Biſhop of *Dumblane*, that ſo he might be Dean of the Kings Chappell, and vent all his *Arminian* errours in the *Royall Chappell*, in deſpight of all the *Presbyteries*.

Then his Grace choſe out 24. Royall Chaplaines, ſuch as were moſt likely to preach the Deanes *Arminian Tenets* to the State when they ſaw that all preferment did run that way. I will not ſay any thing of Maſter *Sydſerf*, Doctor *Forbes*, *&c.* You may read the complaint at large in a book entitled *Ladenſ.* Αὐτοκατάκρισις, or the *Canterburian ſelf-conviction.*

But that which did moſt miſchiefe, was a large Declaration procured by his *Grace*, but ſent in the *Kings name* into *Scotland*, in which their generall Aſſembly was much condemned for paſſing any cenſure upon *Arminians*. Beſides, his Grace had *two Scouts* in *Ireland*, the *Biſhop* of *Derry*, and Doctour *Chappell*: Behold three Kingdomes infected at once with this deadly diſeaſe, by the *peſtilent ſubtilty of one Arch-Biſhop.*

But I ſhall make it appear that we have gone nearer to *Socinianiſme* yet. *Acontius* was (as learned *Peltius* calls him) *clandeſtinus Socinianorum aſſecla*; now I have wondred often what was the reaſon that *Acontius* was new printed in Oxford by Doctour *Potters* book-binder, Creature I might ſay, if I did affect the language of the times. They might as well have Printed *Bonfinius*, for I finde him joyned with *Acontius*, they were both *ſneaking Socinians*, they followed *Socinus* juſt as *Nicodemus* followed *Chriſt*, by ſtealth & in the dark. *Iacobus Acontius & Bonfinius Socini clandeſtini aſſecla.* Judicious and learned *Pareus* not long before his death writ a letter on the firſt of March, 1613. *ad N. N.* in which he expreſſeth himſelfe after this manner. *Arminium veſtrum Sociniani in Polonia expreſſe ut Suum nuper nominarunt, unà cum quodam Bonfinio & Acontio clandeſtinis aſſeclis, quorum authoritate poſtularunt à fratribus Orthodoxis fraternitatem, iſti verò fortiter recuſarunt. Acta ad me miſit Synodus Lublinenſis, cui nuper poſtridie Natalis Domini reſpondi, &c.* *Pareus* was a man of a very peaceable diſpoſition, willing to compoſe all differences which might fairely and honeſtly be compounded, as appeares by his *Irenicum*, and therfore his judgement is to be the more valued, but you ſee he doth not vent his own private opinion, but declares the judgement of the Synod;

Synod; I beleeve that every impartiall Reader will think this paſſage very conſiderable. The *Socinians* have one Principle which draws a great party after them of all heretikes, & ſectaries. Nothing (ſay they) is Fundamentally neceſſary to ſalvation but only Faith or obedience to the commands of Chriſt, for they make faith & obedience all one, *ut ſupra*. Now *Acontius* was a great ſtickler in this point, and therefore learned *Peltius* ſaith, this opinion did open a wide gap to let in all hereſies into the Church, and yet *Acontius* and the *Socinians* thought nothing elſe Fundamentall but obedience to Chriſts precepts; men might deny the Godhead of Jeſus Chriſt, and almoſt any Article of the Chriſtian Faith, and yet be Chriſtians good enough in their conceit. *Nihilq; tandem fore Fundamentale præter iſtud (ſcil. Obedientiam mandatorum) ex mente Acontii & Socinianorum poſitum.* See *Peltius* his Epiſtle Dedicatory, prefixed before his Harmony. Well might *Acontius* his book be intitled *Stratagemata Satanæ*: but ſorry I am that Doctour *Potter* ſhould be thought to have ſuch an hand in publiſhing of it, that it was known in Oxford by the name of Doctour *Potters Stratagems*. I know *Acontius* doth in that book mince the matter, but the book is ſo much the more dangerous, and cannot but poyſon young ſtudents more inſenſibly and irrecoverably. Beſides *Acontius* his pretence of moderation and charity will work much upon men that underſtand not his Stratagems, they will conceive that he grew every day more moderate and more [a] *Accurate* alſo, and that he complyed ſo far with the *Socinians* meerly out of a deſire of peace. But though the book be cloſe and dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, yet ever and anon he lets fall ſome hopes of being ſaved without the acknowledgement of thoſe myſteries which the Church hath long held for neceſſary Articles of faith. *What did the man that was cured of the palſy beleeve? why,* (ſaith he) *he did beleeve as it was fit, that that man who is called Ieſus was from God;* (mark, he doth not ſay that he *was God*) *and in favour with God, and hoped that he ſhould be healed by him, and yet his ſins were forgiven. Credebat enim ut par eſt hominem eum qui Ieſus diceretur à Deo eſſe & apud eum gratioſum, itaq; ſperabat per eum ſanitatem*

Non negamus (inquunt Remonſtrantes) eſſe nonnulla ad ſalutem creditu neceſſaria præciſe, ſed ea pauca eſſe arbitramur. Et hic etiã (inquiunt Profeſſ. Leyd.) gentium & ſpiritũ Socinianum animadvertimus — pauciſſima ad ſalutem prorſus neceſſaria ſunt (inquit Socinus) nempe ut Deus & Ieſus Chriſtus divino honore colatur, præſertim verò Charitas erga proximum exerceatur. Quam fidē & charitatem putant in eo ſubſiſtere qui neget Chriſtum eſſe eundem cum Patre Deum & Spiritum Sanctum eſſe perſonam, &c vide Profeſſ. Leyd. Cenſurã Præfationu Remonſtr. præfix. Confeſſ. ſect. 22.

[a] *Caſpar Barlæus Judæos Deum Abrahams colere (quãvis conſtet eos Ieſum Chriſtũ blaſphemare) pios eſſe poſſe, Deoque acceptos, itemque Dei amicos ſecundum* Accuratiorē Theologiam *dici poſſe ſtatuit, uti Vedelius de Deo Synagoga.*

nitatem ſe poſſe adipiſci. Illa verò eum cognita etiam habuiſſe omnia quæ diu pro articulis fidei Neceſſariis habuit Eccleſia quàm ſit veriſimile, cuiq; judicandum relinquo. Sunt & alia multa loca quæ eódem prorſus tendunt. Nay he conceives *Abraham* the Father of the faithfull to have been ignorant of thoſe Heads of Divinity which we count *Articles of Faith*, Fundamentall Articles. *Abraham*, ſaith he, beleeved that he ſhould have off-ſpring, that in his ſeed all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed, that *Canaan* ſhould be his, *Cæterum de Religionis apicibus iſtis ignorare opinantur* (*ſcil.* Reformati) *fas non eſſe mirum eſt ſilentium quin, ipſum etiam* Salutis myſterium *per ejus ſemen* Tecte *admodum obſcure q; promittitur.* I put in (*ſcil. Reformati,*) for doubtleſſe it is a jerk at the Reformed Churches, and ſo that paſſage fore-cited, *Eccleſia diu habuit*, is certainly a jerk for the *Nicene Fathers*, *Athanaſius* and thoſe ancients which required ſuch a diſtinct confeſſion of faith. You ſee he ſeems to leave it doubtfull whether *Abraham* did beleeve in *Chriſt* or no; theſe oblique paſſages and many ſuch in his third book eſpecially, doe ſhew what a good mind he had to favour them, who at that time about the yeare 1565. did call the *Articles* of the *Chriſtian* faith into queſtion. No marvaile if he wrote ſo warily when *Servetus* had been made ſuch an example, in the yeare 1553. Beſides *Lælius Socinus* was now dead, and *Fauſtus* not grown up to his maturity. *Sabellius* he ſaith was an *Heretike* for ſaying that the Father did not differ from the Son, but he is not ſo forward to call them heretikes who deny that the Son hath the ſame nature with the Father; he tells us that * we muſt beleeve Chriſt to be the Sonne of God, and to be made man, but he doth not preſſe us to beleeve that Chriſt is God. We need not wonder at his moderation, when he is very tender even about *Tranſubſtantiation*, and unwilling to appear on either ſide. *Magna jamdudum fuit & vere tragica controverſia de Interpretatione verborum eorum, Accipite, hoc eſt corpus meum; non neceſſe eſt autem me hoc loco utrarum ſim partium aperire, tantum eatenus quidem utrarum q; eſſe me profiteor, quod utroſq; ad veram Dei eccleſiam pertinere nihil prorſus dubitem*, lib. 3.— and a little after, *De verborum ſententiâ lis eſt, non de veritate:*

Dr *Potter* recites ſome ſuch paſſages *p.* 117. of his own book, but will not take any notice of *Aconſius*.

this

this is an excellent device indeed to help off the groſſeſt *Heretikes*, and ſay that they only differ from us about the meaning of ſome places of Scripture. Chriſt ſaith he bids all come unto him that are heavy laden, and what ſaith he, will you of your own head ſay to any man that is comming to Chriſt, *Heus tu! fruſtra accedis qui hoc & illud non credas?* But if you reply that *Acontius* hath not reckoned ſome points of religion which are of high concernment, and therefore you may ſafely tell a man unleſſe he beleeve them he cannot be ſaved; he hath endeavoured to prevent your reply by this excuſe; *Si miraris inter ea quæ recenſuimus cognitu neceſſaria non numerari quoſdam ſummo quamvis loco habitos Religionis apices, evolve diligenter, Examine* ſaith he *whether thoſe high points could be known under* the old *Teſtament to the people of Iſrael, &c.* This is juſt the *Socinian Device*, I will not trouble you any longer with the unſavory diſcourſe of that *rotten Author*, whoſe main Stratageme was a pretended Moderation and feigned Charity.

Dr. *Potter* might have corrected theſe paſſages out of his own principles, becauſe for want of clear Revelation; he frees the Church before Chriſt, and the diſciples of Chriſt from damnable errour though they beleeved not thoſe things which he who ſhould now deny were no Chriſtian, read from p. 245. to 250. of Dr. *Potters* book of Charity, &c.

Let us now paſſe on to ſome later Authours; Doctor *Francis White* was a man countenanced by the *Arch-Biſhop* to write againſt the *Sabbath*, and in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to the *Arch-Biſhop*, well knowing what would pleaſe his *Graces tooth*, he ſaith that we are beholding to the Teſtimony of the *Biſhops*, for the weightieſt matters in religion, and amongſt the reſt he ſaith for the eternall Deity of the bleſſed Saviour; It ſeemes if the Chriſtian world had not given credit to the teſtimony of *Biſhops*, the eternall *Deity of Chriſt* had not been acknowledged by *Chriſtians*; what if *Biſhops* had loſt their *Votes*, and credit ſome ages ſince, muſt Chriſt have loſt his Deity, or at leaſt the honour of it? Is there nothing written in Scripture concerning the eternall Deity of Chriſt? this is juſt indeed as *Tertullian* ſaith, *Niſi Deus homini placuerit, Deus non erit.* This book was printed in the year 1635. I need ſay nothing of that little Pamphlet about *Schiſme*, printed not long ſince, becauſe other men have ſaid ſo much of it. I am credibly informed that when the Author of it was asked by a great perſon in this Kingdome, what he thought of the *Socinians*, he anſwered, *If you could*

See Dr. *Page* his anſwer to that Treatiſe; and a little box of Antidotes againſt ſome infectious paſſages in a Tract concerning Schiſme.

could ſecure my life I would tell you what I think; and truly he hath told us what he thinkes in this little tract, *viz.* that *Arianiſme* was but a *Rent in the Church upon matter of opinion*; p.9. that *thoſe paſſages in our publique formes which offend the Arians, are but private fancies*, and therefore he deſires there may be ſuch a *Leiturgy* as the *Arians may not diſlike*. p. 10. and then the *Socinians* and *Proteſtants* might joyn in one *congregation*. But muſt we not ſay that Chriſt is very God of very God that he is the great God, the true God, God bleſſed for ever, for fear we offend the *Arians, Socinians, &c.* muſt we not worſhip the Trinity of perſons, in the unity of the Godhead?

His Grace will peradventure thinke it long till he heare what I have to ſay to his own *learned book*. I muſt confeſſe there is good learning in that book of his, which was printed 1624. I ſhould doe him wrong if I ſhould deny it; and though there are ſome paſſages which ſound ill, yet I have charity enough to put a good conſtruction upon moſt of them; but if a prudent Reader will but compare that book and the enlargement of it together, which was printed in the yeare 1639. he will find a great deale of alteration in that ſecond Edition, or rather ſecond book, for it is indeed another book. I ſhall give you a taſte of ſome paſſages in the latter book which are not in the former, that you may ſee how much *his Grace* had altered his *Religion* in thoſe 15. yeares.

In the 76. Page he ſaith, the *Myſteries of Faith doe not contradict Reaſon, for Reaſon by her* own light *can diſcover how firmly the principles of Religion are true. He doth not ſay* reaſon *by* the *light of Scripture*, or by the *light of the Spirit*, but *reaſon by her own light can diſcover how firmly the Principles of Religion are true.* The *Socinians* lay this *principle* as their *foundation*, and keep ſo cloſe to it that they reject the weightieſt Articles of the Chriſtian faith; becauſe Reaſon cannot diſcover them to be true by her *own light*, that is *reaſon* (*ante Spiritus ſancti illuſtrationem*) *before the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt*, as they explain themſelves in their *Brevis Diſquiſitio, cap. 3. de Spiritu Sancto.* And upon the ſame ground they doe reject the Received interpretations of *Scripture*, becauſe *Reaſon* cannot

cannot diſcover how firmly they are true. Can the *Arch-Biſhop* make it appeare by the light of Reaſon, that there ſhall be a *Reſurrection* of theſe ſelfe ſame bodies; that there are three perſons and one God: that the *Word was* made *fleſh*; that *God* was made *man*; that Chriſt was born of a Virgin; that God juſtifies many thouſands of the ungodly by the obedience and ſatisfaction of one man; muſt we not beleeve theſe Articles till Reaſon by her own light, without the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, doth diſcover them to be true, and how firmly they are to be beleeved becauſe true? for that I ſuppoſe the *Arch-Biſhop* means, when he ſaith, Reaſon can diſcover how firmly theſe principles of Religion are true: Why doe the *Socinians* ſo often challenge us to be tryed by reaſon, by common ſenſe, by the Judgement of all men, but becauſe they conceive, Reaſon by her own light can diſcover how firmly the principles of religion are true? I know the *Socinians* doe talk much of the offices of Chriſt, but they receive nothing from the Scripture, concerning Chriſts offices, but what is as they ſay agreeable to Reaſon. They ſay likewiſe that it is neceſſary to ſalvation to know the promiſes of God, but they affirme that it will ſuffice, if a man be but acquainted with the ſubſtance of them, if he doth but hope for a better life after this, which even ſome Heathens did without the knowledge of Chriſt or his Goſpell. Reaſon by its own light did diſcover unto them that the good and great God had prepared eternall happineſſe for our immortall ſoules: if this then be enough (as the *Socinians* ſay it is) to receive all things as Principles of Religion which Reaſon by her own light can diſcover to be true, (and how neer the *Arch-Biſhop* comes to them, let the Reader judge) then the *Philoſophers*, eſpecially the *Platoniſts*, were in an happy condition, & it will be lawfull for a man to cry out aloud, *Sit anima mea cum Philoſophis*, and he ſhall never be thought an *Atheiſt*, nay ſhall paſſe for a good Chriſtian. There was a Sermon preached to Sir *John Byron* when he was in *Oxford*, which favoured ſtrong of this *Heatheniſh Divinity*, and Sir *John* gave the Preacher ſolemne thanks for his paines. Let us then Canonize the *Heathens* for *Saints*, and put

Hermes, Phocylides, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, Cicero, Zoroaster, Iamblichus, Epictetus, Simplicius, into our Rubrike, and let not *Aristotle, Alexander* or *Averroes* be left out. The Heathens did endeavour to keep Gods commands in hope of a better life. What doe the *Socinians*, or indeed *Arminians* require more? Now Reason by her own light can discover that I ought to love God, better then the world or my selfe, because he is the chiefest good; Reason tells me that I must doe as I would be done to; the Law of nature is written in the hearts of Heathens, the writings of Philosophers doe abound with principles of morality and good life, and *Socinus* saith, *it is sufficient for a mans salvation to know what God hath commanded and forbidden; and if he erre in other points, he shall not be shut out of Heaven, for such errours as reason cannot by her own light discover to be errors.* In like manner the *Arch-Bishop*, if he will be true to this Principle he hath laid down, must affirm that no man shal be dāned for rejecting any Articles of the Christian Faith, which reason by her own light cannot discover to be true, and so manifestly true that they ought to be firmly beleeved. If this be not *Socinianisme* in the highest, let the impartiall Reader judge. That the *Arch-Bishop* hath added this passage to his old book (perchance upon Master *Chillingworths* weighty inducements) will appear if the Reader be pleased to compare the 76. page of his new Book with the 21 page of his old Book.

Summa Religionis Sociniana hac est, sub spe alterius vitæ observare Mandata Dei, uti Calovius confid. Th. Socin Tvarn p. 86.

Sufficit ut sciamus quæ revera præstantur vel vetentur à Deo, adeoque si in reliqua error occurrat nemo ob eum dē malo excludatur. Socin. Epist. 2. ad Dudithium.

There is another suspicious passage in the 25. section of the *Arch-Bishops* Relation, he descants upon a place of *Epiphanius*, pag. 185. and 186. *Epiphanius* said, that in *Peter* were found even ἀκριβολογήματα πίστεως, The very *Niceties*, and *exactnesse* of the Christian faith, saith the *Arch-Bishop*, and presently gives this reason. For he professed the Godhead of the Sonne and of the Holy Ghost, pag. 186. How will the *Socinians* triumph when they heare the *Primate* of all *England* discoursing of the *Godhead of Christ* and the *Holy Ghost* as *Niceties*? I grant the word ἀκριβολογήματα, is most commonly used in an ill sense, but certainly *Epiphanius* used it here in a good sense, which the Arch-Bishop could not but see, and therefore used the word *exactnesse*, but to gratify the *Socinians*

nians he puts in *niceties*, as if he had ſaid, *If you* will be *exact*, you may ſay that *Chriſt is God*, but *that's but a nicety*, ſomewhat *more then needs*, a man may be *ſaved without it*; for the *Arminians* ſay *Athanaſius* was too bold to prefixe that Proud Preface before his Creed, Whoſoever will be ſaved, &c. and I make no doubt but his *Grace* was led much by them, he had ſuch high thoughts of the *Arminian* conceits. The *Arch-Biſhop* doth acknowledge that in the old Latine Edition at *Paris*, pag. 497. it is thus tranſlated, *In hoc omnes Quæſtiones ac Subtilitates Fidei inveniuntur*; therefore hee might have ſaid that all the myſteries of Faith were maintained by *Peter*, though by the malice of *Anti-ſpirituall* men even the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſuch like Myſteries were made Queſtions, or at beſt counted *ſubtilties*, and *Niceties*.

Moreover when the *Arch-Biſhop* comes to ſpeak of the *proceeding* of the *Holy Ghoſt* from the Sonne, he perſwades the *Church* of *Rome* to moderation, and then lets fall a ſweet bit for the *Socinians* to feed upon, *pag.* 25. And *Rome*, ſaith he, in this particular ſhould be more moderate, if it be but becauſe this Article *Filioq*, was added to the Creed by her ſelf; and it is hard to adde and *Anathematize* too. The *Socinians* are apt enough to ſay that many of the Articles of our faith were framed at *Rome*, and it ſeemes his *Grace* would confirme them in that opinion. This was added alſo to his new book, as will appeare, if you compare the 25. page of the new book and the 6. of the old. It is the common practice of men addicted to the *Socinian* way to ſpeak very favourably in this point.

Theſe I call very ſuſpitious paſſages, you muſt not expect Demonſtrations in this point, for I know the Arch-Biſhop was too wiſe to ſpeak plain, though ſome of theſe paſſages are plain enough. And I muſt profeſſe that I doe not beleeve the *Arch-Biſhop* ever intended to bring in all points of *Arminianiſme*, *Socinianiſme*, or *Popery*, but to pick out ſuch points as might ſtand with the *great Deſigne*; he was to humour all theſe three factions, that all three might joyn with him to ſuppreſſe *Calvinſme*, and then admire him as the *A-*

Arch-Biſhops relation ſee pag. 309, 310, 311.

ſtolike Patriarch, Pope of this other world of *Britaine*, for he would not have us ignorant that *Pope Urbane* the ſecond even in a *Councel* accounted *his Graces worthy* Predeceſſour Saint *Anſelme* as his own *Compeere*, (or *fellow-Pope*) and ſaid he was as the Apoſtolike and *Patriarch* of the other world; ſo he then termed *this Iland. pag.* 171. of the new book. But I beleeve his *Oecumenicall Grace* had ſuch a thirſt to be a Governour of this little world, and yet ſuch a liking to the *Univerſall Grace* of the *Arminians*, and the *Right Reaſon* of the *Socinians*, that no man that hath one dram of right reaſon can poſſibly free his *Grace* from contradicting himſelfe, and thwarting his own Deſigne, by crying up ſome opinions which could not ſtand with his own Principles in his old book, and his *Plot* which now & then peeps out in his new, and yet he hath jumbled all together for no other reaſon that can be imagined, unleſſe it were his Maſter-plot to countenance other mens opinions that they might promote *his Deſigne*, and for a copy of his countenance adore him as the *Primate* and *Patriarch* of the *Britaines*, whoſe Judgement is Finall, and therefore there lies no appeale from him to *Rome* or *Cracovia*, no not to *Right Reaſon* aſſiſted by *Univerſal Grace*; it ſeems ſuch ſlaves he had who to ſatisfy his ambition and their own, would deny both their Principles and his, that the *Maſter-plot* might thrive and proſper. For it is obſervable, that our Engliſh *Arminians*, and *Socinians* are nothing ſo true to their own principles, as the Ringleaders of theſe factions are beyond the Seas. His Grace both in his old book and in his new, ſaith that *Reaſon and ordinary grace ſuperadded by the help of Tradition, doe ſufficiently enlighten the ſoul to diſcern that the Scriptures are the oracles of God*; here is the *Socinians ſound, or right reaſon before the illumination of the Spirit, but to pleaſe the Arminians*; *Ordinary or Univerſall grace* comes in alſo, *and the name of Tradition to pleaſe the Popiſh party*; and what all theſe are like to doe without the ſpeciall Grace of the holy Spirit, I leave it to any Proteſtant to judge.

The Arch Biſhops Relation. pag. 171.

The Arch-Biſhop calls Socinianiſme an horrid monſter of al Hereſies, pag. 310. *Talu non pauci Declarantium eſſet Theologia Socinians in pluribus Articulis, quam tamen hactenus publice elsgere non auſi ſunt propter ſcandalum, ideo ab iis quæ minus invidioſa putarunt infidioſe in incipientes, viam illâ ſatiſſimam tentarunt. Profeſſ. Leyd. Cenſur. Præfat. Rem. Sect. 23.*

The old Book. p. 84. new, 121.

There is another Rule which his Grace holds faſt in both his bookes, namely, That *the Churches Declaration can bind us to peace and externall obedience, where there is not expreſſe letter*

The old book. p. 9. The new p. 31.

ter of ſcripture and ſenſe agreed on. What, Sir, muſt there be no deduction, no conſequences allowed? muſt there be *expreſſe letter of Scripture?* there's one *Socinian rule.* Secondly, when the letter of the text is expreſſe, muſt not the point contained in the Text, and expreſſed in the letter, be accounted Fundamentall, becauſe the ſenſe is not agreed upon, but the point called into queſtion by ſome learned *Socinian,* or bold *Arminian?* is the ſenſe of that place of Scripture which hath been received by ſo many Fathers, Councels, Reformed Churches, Martyrs, not true, or the point not neceſſary, becauſe it is now called into queſtion by ſome wanton wits that can hardly agree upon any point? Muſt we then ſubſcribe to that *Arminian* and *Socinian* principle, *Nullum dogma controverſum eſt fundamentale?* When a point begins to be controverted ſhall it ceaſe to be Fundamentall? By this meanes we may bring in an *Atheiſticall Libertiniſme* into the Church; we ſhall haye no more Articles of our Faith, then the *Arminians*, or *Socinians* pleaſe to leave us. I beleeve we ſhall have a very ſhort Creed one of theſe dayes, if this rule be followed: for as faſt as they pleaſe to queſtion our Articles we muſt part with them, eſpecially if our great *Patriarch* interpoſe his *Authority*, his *Declaration* muſt paſſe for the *Churches Declaration*; if he ſay ſuch a point is controverted and I command you ſilence, it is not Fundamentall now, becauſe controverted, then we muſt be ſilent and let the truth fall to the ground. This was the old muzle which was put upon the Miniſters mouthes to make them lie ſtill, like dumbe dogs, whiles the theeves ſtole away what they pleaſed, this and that Commandement, this and the other Article of the Chriſtian faith: we muſt it ſeemes for Peace ſake, part with our religion, and diſobey God that we may obey the Church: ſure he that hath the head of a Scholar, and the heart of a Chriſtian, will ſcarce have any inward Peace if he perform externall obedience in ſuch a caſe.

This may ſuffice for a taſte of the *Arch-Biſhops Divinity*: nor the young Students could not but take notice of ſuch paſſages, and therefore whet their wits to maintain thoſe opinions which *his Grace* countenanced. There was a great Scholar

who asked one of the *Canterburian faction*, what he thought of the *Primate of Irelands* treatiſe concerning Chriſts Incarnation, in which he demonſtrates that *the Word was made fleſh, and that therefore Chriſt is God and man*; the *Canterburian* anſwered, that indeed there was as much produced upon that argument as could be ſaid upon it, but under correction (ſaith he) I conceive the *Primate hath not cleared the point which he undertook to prove*. The men of this ſtrain when they were at their height, began to vary their expreſſions, they called *Chriſt* their *great Maſter*, or our *Lord and Maſter*, at the higheſt, ſo that you could ſcarce tell by their prayers whether they did reſpect *Chriſt* or their *Patrone* moſt, for the *Chaplaines* ſtyled their *Patrone* their very *good Lord and Maſter*. Dr. *Taylour* in his epiſtle Dedicatory to the *Arch-Biſhop*, before the ſermon on the Gun powder treaſon, ſeems to affect that expreſſion of calling Chriſt our *great Maſter*; the *Socinians* will beare them company in ſuch generall expreſſions, and ſome have thought of compoſing ſuch a Liturgy as might give no offence to *Arminians* or *Socinians*; that would be an *inoffenſive Liturgy* indeed, and they may doe well to enlarge their Charity, and make their Liturgy inoffenſive to the *Turkes* and *Jewes* as well as the *Socinians*; for any Liturgy which will pleaſe one that is a thorow *Socinian*, will pleaſe *Turkes*, and *Jewes* alſo, if it be but warily compoſed, and they will keep themſelves in ſuch generall expreſſions as ſome doe too much affect.

But of all that I have met with, none comes neer Mr. *Webberly*, a *Batchelour of Divinity*, and fellow of *Lincolne Colledge*, who hath tranſlated a *Socinian* book into *Engliſh*, *for the benefit of this Nation*, and prepared it for the preſſe. Now they think they may own the buſineſſe, they dare appeare in their proper colours, and *blaſpheme Chriſt in plaine Engliſh*. But becauſe ſome parts of *Socinianiſme* ſtrike directly at the ſuperſtition of *Rome* ſo highly extolled in our dayes, and at the *pompe of the Clergy*, which muſt be maintained by the ſword (for what care they though *England* ſwimme in bloud, ſo they ſwimme in wealth and pleaſure?) therefore Mr. *Webberly* tells us very honeſtly, that *Socinianiſme* was to be corrected

corrected and chaſtiſed with reſpect to the nature of our climate; What need I adde more? take all in a word.

There are ſome myſterious parts of *Socinianiſme* that ſeem *Rationall*, theſe I think in good earneſt, the men of this age have too much doted on. Secondly, ſome parts of *Socinianiſme* they qualify and chaſtiſe a little, becauſe there is a little too much quick-ſilver in them. Thirdly, ſome parts they doe totally reject, becauſe they thwart the *maine Deſigne*. Fourthly, ſome parts of *Socinianiſme* are inſtilled into the people, that they might be made a meer prey to their Courts in times of Peace, and to their army in times of warre. Mr. *Webberly*, for inſtance, may be ſo farre irrationall as to be of the Councell of warre, which no ſtrict *Socinian* would allow; but then Mr. *Webberly* would teach the people that they muſt not defend their poſſeſſions againſt invading enemies, by force of Armes, becauſe God hath not given his people any earthly poſſeſſions by Covenant under the Goſpell, as he did under the Law. Surely they have heard of *Iulian* who boxed the Chriſtians on one eare, and bid them turn the other eare that they might be boxed on both ſides in obedience to their Maſters command.

Ab iis qua minus invidioſa putarunt inſidioſe incipientes viam illam ſuam tutiſſimâ tentarunt, ulterius progreſſuri ſi pro voto ſuccederet —— non dubium eſt quin Remonſtr. Soc. & in unam & eandem ſectam coaluerint, etſi non in omnibus aliis plane conveniant —— publice docent unuſquiſq; in ſua fide ſalvari poſſe, &c. Profeſſ. Leyd. Cenſ. Præfat. Sect. 23.

Chap. V.

Shewes that the famous Atheiſts (Anabaptiſts *and* Sectaries) *ſo much complained of, have been raiſed, or encouraged by the doctrines and practiſes of the* Arminian, Socinian, *and* Popiſh *party.*

There hath been a great complaint of late that men are turned Atheiſts, and ſurely not without cauſe, but let us ſadly inquire into the reaſon. The *Socinians doe deny Chriſt to be God to the glory of God the Father*, as they uſe to ſay, and I beleeve God the Father hath taken it ſo unkindly at their hands, that he hath given them over to that curſed Atheiſme which reignes in the heart of every man by nature,

ture, and is much ſtrengthened by the profane wits of this latter age. I remember a ſtory of reverend *Amphilochius* who had been an importunate ſuter to *Theodoſius* the Emperour, that the *Arians* might not vent their blaſphemies ſo freely againſt the Son of God, becauſe he was as God, equall to his Father; but he could not obtaine his requeſt; at laſt the good old man pitched upon this courſe, he comes to the palace of *Theodoſius* the great, and ſalutes the Emperour with all due acknowledgements and accuſtomed reverence, but as for *Arcadius* the ſon of *Theodoſius*, who was created *Co-emperour* with his Father, *Amphilochius* paſſed him by without any reſpect or reverence at all, & at laſt very familiarly ſtroakes the young Emperour upon the head, as if it had been ſome ordinary boy, and cryed, *God ſave thee good child*; At which the Emperour was extreamly enraged, and commanded them to turne *Amphilochius* out of doores: but this reverend man replyed, I beſeech your Majeſty to conſider that if you are ſo much incenſed againſt them who doe not honour your Son as they honour your ſelf, what wil God the Father think of them who deny equall honour to *Ieſus Chriſt* his Son, who is equall to his Father in nature and power? The Emperour who was wavering before, was much confirmed in his faith, by this ſeaſonable Admonition, and preſently forbad the *Arians* to diſpute any more againſt the Godhead of Chriſt. You may read the ſtory at large in *Sozomen's* Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory. Now can we imagine that God the Father ſhould take it leſſe unkindly at the hands of the *Socinians* and all who admire their acute blaſphemies, that they deny Jeſus Chriſt to be God? and what puniſhment is fitter for ſuch blaſphemers, then that, *Rom.* 1. *Profeſſing themſelves wiſe, they ſhould become fooles, and denying the Godhead of Chriſt, and the holy Ghoſt, they ſhould be given over, not only to deny the power of godlineſſe*, but to deny that there is any God at all, *becauſe they did not like to retaine the knowledge of God?*

1. The Scriptures doe clearly ſhew that God the Father is no more God then Jeſus Chriſt; But (ſay the *Socinians*) Jeſus Chriſt is not God. Who ſees not what concluſion will follow? *ergo*, if they ſaid true, there would be no God at all.

2. The

2. The *Socinians* doe not worſhip the ſame God with the *Proteſtants*; for we worſhip the Trinity in unity, that is, all the three Perſons as one God, they ſay it is repugnant to common ſenſe, to hold that the three Perſons are one and the ſame God, and therefore they may when they pleaſe leave it to common ſenſe, to determine whether there be any God at all.

3. The *Socinians* proceed in a deſtructive way; now deſtroy all Religion, and Atheiſme will be embraced in ſtead of Religion. Mr. *Chillingworth* hath cleared that point ſufficiently, that *Popery* leads men to flat *Atheiſme:* and it is plaine and evident that if *Papiſts* muſt beleeve neither more or leſſe then the *Pope* thinkes fit, the *Pope* may lead them all into *Atheiſme* when he pleaſes. And how pleaſing *Atheiſme* hath been to ſome *Popes*, I need not ſtand to declare, the *Papiſts* themſelves have ſpoke plaine enough. The *Papiſts* have extolled the *Pope above all that is called God*, and therefore the dulleſt *Papiſt* that can but ſee that the *Pope* is not God, will be ready to queſtion whether there be any God at all. If the *Pope* have more Authority then God, then the concluſion will be eaſie: but according to the *Romaniſts* the *Pope* hath more Authority then *God*, for the Church is above the *Scripture*, the *Pope* above the *Church*, he is the head of it: Let *Papiſts* though our enemies, frame the concluſion. They who maintaine the *Popes* infallibility, and yet cannot but ſee how he takes upon him to correct Gods own Inſtitutions, will conclude that it is poſſible for God to be deceived, and then I am ſure he is no God: and whether the *Pope* be God, let the *Papiſts* judge.

The Preface to the Author, &c. Sect. 7, 8. 11. This is the mother, give her the childe, &c. c. 2. p. 50. The doctrine of Indulgences takes away the fear of Purgatory, the doctrine of Purgatory, the fear of Hell; the love of God will not be kindled in the hearts of ignorant men by Latine ſervice, nor by the maſſe if it were in Engliſh: becauſe ſome ſins are made veniall, the people may well doubt whether there be any mortall; becauſe the Pope hath ſtruck out the ſecond Commandement, the people may think he hath Authority to ſtrike out the firſt. The foundation of all the Papiſts faith, the Churches Authority, is built laſtly and wholly upon Prudentiall motives;

Ac de Atheis quidem non ita fuiſſem eroditurus unquam niſi me Pennellum adhuc ipſorum agmina, ſummo diſcrimine ſalutis meæ ſolscitaviſſent ante triginta annos, quum literis humanioribus operam in Gallia darem a Iunii ſac. parallela præfat.

What practiſes there have been by the Popiſh party for the promoting of the *Socinian* hereſies, I could ſhew at large if it were not too manifeſt to be proved. *Fauſtus Socinus* writ a moſt peſtilent book *de SS. Scriptura Authoritate*, and this book he did privatly ſend about in writing to his friends; *Dominicus Lopez* a Jeſuite it ſeemes was a great friend of his, and

Libellum de SS. Scriptura Authoritate Dominicus Lopez Societ. Ieſu anno 1588. Hiſpali edidit D. Calovius de orig. Theol. Soc. pag. 22.

and the book comming to his hand he thought fit to publiſh it for the common good. I need ſay nothing of *Petavius* his notes *in Epiphan. Hareſ. 69. Cardinall Perron his reply to King James, lib.* 3. his book of the *Euchariſt. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. Mr. *Fiſher*, or Mr. *Floyd*. How eaſily the *Racovian* and *Romane Antichriſts* would be reconciled, at leaſt ſo far as to joyn againſt the *Calviniſts* is evident to any underſtanding man. And Mr. *Webberly* in the Appendix or ſixth Book of his Tranſlation, ſhews that the two great Articles which offend the *Romaniſts* and *Racovians* are, 1. The totall excluſion of all kinde of good workes from juſtifying a man before God: and 2. The totall negation of mans Freewill in doing good. They are enemies to the grace of God, in juſtifying ſinners freely by faith alone in Chriſt, and to the powerfull and effectuall grace of God in converting and ſanctifying our ſouls.

Mr. *Chilling* Anſwer to *Knots* directions to *N. N.* fect. 18.

This is the grand quarrell: the *Socinians* deny Chriſt to be God, that ſo they may deny that the bloud of Chriſt did fully ſatisfy for our ſins: theſe errours ſtrike directly at the Covenant of Grace, which is the foundation of all our comfort, and if once we undermine the foundation, and reject the principles of Chriſtianity, it is then an eaſie matter to be an *Atheiſt*: for if the Proteſtant religion be deſerted, there is nothing in any other religion to keep a man back from being an *Atheiſt*; for *Popery*, to ſpeak ſtrictly, is *Antichriſtianiſme*, and I have ſaid enough of *Socinianiſme*; *Iudaiſme, and Turciſme*, are too neer of kin to *Socinianiſme*: let any man that doubts of this truth, read Doctour *Calovius* his *Decas Diſſertationum*, *Vedelius de Deo Synagoga*, and he may receive ſatisfaction without reading others. And for the *Arminian Atheiſme*, I referre you to *Vedelius* his book, *de Arcanis Arminian.* *Anabaptiſts* are juſtly complained of, but from whence did they ſuck their poyſon (I mean the *Anabaptiſts* of the laſt edition, (the men ſo much complained of) but from the *Arminians*, *Socinians* and *Papiſts*? from the *Arminians* they received their doctrine about the Fall and Free-will of man; are they not pure *Arminians* in that great point of Predeſtination? they oppoſe the Re-

Ideo dicunt Remõſtrantes ſe nolle hæreſes aut Atheiſmũ introducere quia nõ habent pro hareſi id quod revera hereſis & Atheiſmus eſt, & ab omni eccleſia qua Deum in tribus perſonis adorat pro hareſi & Atheiſmo habetur. Vedel. de Arcan. Arminianiſmi lib. 1. cap 1 lib. 2 c. 10. pag. 86, 87.

Reformed Churches in their doctrine about originall ſin, the *Socinians* have taught them to deny that Infants are conceived and born in ſin, and this is the true reaſon why they deny Baptiſme to infants, though I know they urge many other reaſons to colour the buſineſſe: no man need to wonder that Baptiſme of Infants is neglected by all thoſe who deny originall ſinne. *Pelagius* of old, about the yeare 420. ſaid that it was a vaine thing to imagine, that the ſinnes of infants were waſhed away by Baptiſme, becauſe they have no ſin at all, and therefore Heaven was ſet open to them. The *Anabaptiſts* in the conference at *Franckendale*, maintained that Infants were born without originall ſinne, nay without the leaſt ſpot of ſinne, and therefore there was no need of their being waſhed in the Laver of Regeneration. The *Socinians* tell us that *Originall ſinne* is a *meere fable*, *a fancy*. They that can goe no farther then Engliſh, may read a book of Free-will, Predeſtination, the firſt tranſgreſſion; ſubſcribed in the *Epiſtle* or *Preface* after this manner, *Your brethren the Anabaptiſts falſly ſo called.*

Vide Brochmand. de Peccato c. 6. q. 1. Pelagio auxiliatores minus prabent Anabaptiſta &c. Colloqu. Franckenſ. 4 p. 230, 231. Peccatum morte Chriſti ita expiatũ & ablatum eſſe ut infantes naſcantur omnis labis expertes, ac eapropter lavacro Regenerationis non indigeant. Smalcius diſp. 2. contr. Francium peccatum originis commentum eſt & fabula.

But I beleeve the reaſon why the *Anabaptiſts* are complained of at this time, is becauſe they are diſobedient to Magiſtrates; for it is commonly ſaid that they have lately taken up Armes in rebellion againſt the King. I muſt confeſſe I have wondred often when I have heard of this dayly complaint, becauſe I know that an *Anabaptiſt* doth not think it lawfull to be a *Cutler*, he thinks no ſword ought to be made, becauſe he conceives it unlawfull to uſe a ſword. It is well known that the *Anabaptiſts* goe to Sea without any Ordnance in their ſhips, that they travaile without any ſword by their ſide: But if there be any fighting *Anabaptiſt* in theſe days, I ſuppoſe the *Engliſh Socinians* have taught the *Engliſh Anabaptiſts* to deny thoſe principles in practiſe, which they maintain in diſpute. Who are ſo *active in all Counſells of warre at Oxford*, as men that are ſhrewdly ſuſpected for *Socinianiſme*? If they deny this truth, their letters which are dayly intercepted will teſtify to their faces that they are not true to their own principles. Yet I commend the *Chaplaines* for *their Deſigne*, they would fain ſeiſe upon mens goods

without force or violence, and therefore they tell the people that they ought not now under the Goſpell to fight for the defence of their goods; and if they could perſwade the people to be *Anabaptiſts* in this point, then theſe *Reverend Troopers* and meek men of warre, might ſeiſe upon all the peoples goods, without force of Armes, and ſo be as true to their *Racovian* principles, as the *Racovians* themſelves, they might *robbe* without *weapons*, a whole pariſh might be plundered by one *Sermon* as well as by *two troopes*, if the people were but throughly inſtructed in (or as we ſay, beaten to) this *Conſcientious ſlavery*. All the ſpoile of a whole towne would lye no heavier upon the conſcience of one of theſe Chaplaines, then a reare egge upon his ſtomack, for they are not aſhamed to affirme that God hath not given his people any earthly goods or poſſeſſions under the Goſpell, and therefore plundering is not robbing, they doe but take that from men which God never gave them. Mr. *Webberly* in the third chapter of his Treatiſe, tells us that God hath not given his people any earthly poſſeſſions now under the new Teſtament, they muſt not regard earth but look after heaven; this is they ſay the Court-Divinity; but ſure the *Rationall Lords* that have ſuch vaſt poſſeſſions ſhould not be much taken with theſe raptures; if they be, it were good for the *Lords* to turne *Chaplaines* or ſtep into a Cloyſter, and let their own *Chaplaines* be *Lords* in their roome. How the *Court-Chaplaines* will maintain this Doctrine, and not be as *Anti-Monarchicall* as the very *Anabaptiſts*, I profeſſe I know not, they might have done well to have excepted the Crown-lands; They were wont to preach at the Court, that the Subjects have nothing of their own, but by this doctrine they will leave the King nothing of his owne; ſure they mean to have all to themſelves. They muſt ſay that our King lives under the new Teſtament, they will grant him to be a Chriſtian, and therefore he muſt not regard earthly poſſeſſions, &c. The King may perceive by this, what good friends he hath at Court. Nor doe they ſtick to queſtion the Authority as well as the poſſeſſions or Revenues of Kings. The *Anabaptiſts* as diſobedient

diſobedient to a Parliament as to a King; any perſon or Court which hath power to fine or impriſon, is by them denyed to be a godly perſon or a Chriſtian court. It was one of the Seditious lawes enacted by that lawleſſe faction at *Munſter*, *Magiſtratibus ac Principibus nullus ſubjiciatur*. The *Socinians* and *Arminians* think themſelves as lawleſſe. The * *Arminians* ſay that they can willingly beare with one that conceives it unlawfull for a Magiſtrate to puniſh any Delinquent with capitall puniſhment, though he doe not embrace this opinion out of tenderneſſe of conſcience, but only becauſe he hath been trained up in it from his youth. You ſee the *Arminians* give faire quarter to the *Papiſts* and *Socinians*; if any man hath been nurſed up in this opinion they will beare with him though his conſcience be not tender. They excuſe *Socinus* in the ſame Chapter, and ſay that many honeſt men were of this opinion before *Socinus* was born. The *Arminians* and *Socinians* make a *King of elouts*, and put a wooden or painted ſword into his hand to affright children, for they ſay that he muſt not draw bloud, no not in a legall way, for capitall offences. The * *Arminians* forelaw this conſequence, and are content to let it paſſe, they will not alter the confeſſion of their faith to avoid this inconvenience. In the confeſſion of our faith ſay they we uſe none but this generall expreſſion, the power of the ſword, and forbeare to mention any capitall puniſhment, becauſe ſay they we doe not require all that embrace our confeſſion to maintain that Magiſtrates have power to inflict capitall puniſhments: whereby it appears that they doe plainly equivocate even in the confeſſion of their faith, or rather the declaration of their opinion. *Non fidei noſtræ confeſſionem, ſed ſententiæ declarationem exhibemus*, they uſe generall and ſlippery termes and teach all their Sectaries (the *Socinians* and *Anabaptiſts* need no teaching) how to ſlip their necks out of ſo wide and looſe a collar. Reverend *Iunius* ſhewes that the *Arminians* teach their Sectaries to blot the name of any Prince or Magiſtrate out of the

Vide Conrad. Hereſb. de factione Monaſt. Theod. Streck. Hiſt. Anabapt. pag 56.

* *Si qui adeo tenera, aut ſic à teneru imbuta conſcientia ſint ut credant Chriſtiano mihi ne quidem Magiſtratum gerenti licere ſanguinem fundere, aut capitalibus ſupplicijs in ſontes animadvertere, Remonſtrantes eos libenter tolerare paratiſunt. Exam. Cenſ. cap. 12 pag 141.*

* *Defenſio contra injuſtam vim quæ ſine poteſtate effundentis ſanguinem eſt, non eſt defenſio, ſed defenſionis larva terrendis pueris. Rem. ubi ſupra.*

Nam vox Gladii quemlibet defenſionis modum, etiam quæ ſine ſanguine ſit, ſignificare poteſt. Ibid.

Accedit quod fieri non poſſit ut Infirmi iſti in quorum gratiâ confeſſio luſit Homonymis magiſtratus, & juſtos magiſtratus tolerêt, cũ expugnant magiſtratũ vindicantẽ juſtũ (ex officio nomine Dei) capitali ſupplicio impiorum ex numero Chriſtianorum, & annumerent Infidelibus & Homicidis. Iſac. Iun. Exam. Apol. Remonſtrant. cap. 12. p. 311.

the number of Chriſtians and make him an Infidell, if he puniſh the greateſt offenders with death in a legall way. Doe any Reformed Divines maintain this ſeditious tenent which will certainly ruine any State where it is generally received? Did *Melanchthon, Bucer, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger*, ever preach ſuch doctrine? nay did they not conſtantly oppoſe the *Anabaptiſts* in this very point? Nay was not the faction of *Anabaptiſts* raiſed by the Devil and fomented by *Rome*, on purpoſe to hinder the Reformation begun by thoſe worthy Reformers? read that great Counſellour *Conradus Hereſbachius* his Epiſtle to *Eraſmus*, and there you will ſee the Devill raiſed them up in oppoſition to the Reformers. I know one of late preached valiantly againſt bleſſed *Luther*, and ſaid that *Luthers* book *de libertate Chriſtiana* gave the firſt occaſion to the giddy *Anabaptiſts* to be ſo extravagant; *Lambertus Hortenſius* indeed hath a touch upon it, but he addes withall, that though *Thomas Muntzer* was well read in that book of *Luther*, yet being an illiterate man he did not well underſtand, or elſe did wreſt that book to his purpoſe; now if the book was not well underſtood, and worſe interpreted, ſure the Interpreter was in fault, for if he had no learning he might have had ſome ingenuity, or at leaſt humility, and left the book to more learned Readers, or candid expoſitours. *Thomas Muntzerus Saxo erat homo ut accepi illiteratus, ſed ut apparebat, in hoc libello egregie exercitatus, & ſcripti interpres parum Candidus*, We muſt diſtinguiſh betweene the firſt tumults of *Anabaptiſticall* men, and *Deliberate Anabaptiſme*. The firſt tumults were raiſed above an hundred yeares ſince, by illiterate dreamers, ſuch as *Nicholas Storke, Thomas Muncer, Phifer Ringus* and the reſt; yet *Muncer* at that time laid a faire foundation for *Servetus, Socinus* and the reſt to build upon; for he denyed the ſatisfaction of Chriſt; and what Doctrine is Fundamentall if the ſatisfaction of Chriſt be not? the *Socinians* make it their grand deſigne to perſwade men that Jeſus Chriſt hath not truly and properly ſatisfied for our ſinnes. The Hereſy of the *Anabaptiſts* was not backed with any ſtrength of Argument, nor methodically digeſted till *Servetus*

Satan ejuſmodi peſtes ſibi in finem exoptavit, ne ſcil. Reformatio orbis Chriſtiani in doctrina & moribus jam a multo tempore a piis majoribus noſtris deſiderata, & a Deo ter Opt. Max. tandem per Lutherum, Zuing. Melan. Bucer. aliſque Dei viros ſuſcepta perficeretur. Arg. Epiſt. Hereſbach Conradus Hereſbachius principum Iulia Cliviæ montium &c. Inſtitutor & Conſiliarius qua notatu digna inter obſidendum occurrebant probe conſignavit utroque inſuper principe jubente vetuſtis, teſte Theod Strackeo.

Docebat Muncerus falſum eſſe Chriſtũ ſatisfeciſſe pro nobis, quicquid tandẽ molles iſti Scribæ dicant. H Bullinger adverſus Anabaptiſtas lib. 1 p. 2.

vetus and *Socinus* ſet to work, I muſt then look upon *Servetus* and * *Socinus* as the maine pillars of *Deliberate* and *Refined Anabaptiſme. Luther* muſt be excuſed, for he was not guilty at all, it was an occaſion ſnatched and not given, ſnatched by *Muncer*, not given by *Luther*, when the *Anabaptiſts* urged *Luthers* authority; for *Luther* did utterly diſavow any ſuch ſenſe, as they put upon his book, nay he abhorred their *Deſigne* and oppoſed their faction even at their very firſt riſe. When *Muncer* was ſtepped aſide to *Melhuſium*, *Luther* wrote againſt him to the Senate and deſired them to beware *of the woolf in a Sheeps skin*; this was very early, in the yeare 1524. and upon the Lords day as *Bullinger* aſſures me. In the yeare 1525. and the ſixth of *Novemb.* the *Anabaptiſts* were ſo confident of their own ſtrength, that they challenged any Reformed Miniſter to diſpute with them; but when they were ready to diſpute, one of the *Anabaptiſts* cryed out, *Sion Sion, rejoyce O Hieruſalem*, they were preſently in ſuch a tumult that they were forced to remove to another place; yet the *Senate*, *Zuinglius* and other learned men were ſo patient as to argue with them three dayes together, and when the *Anabaptiſts* ſaw themſelves confuted by the evident demonſtrations which *Zuinglius* produced out of the word of God, one of them had a deſigne beyond all the reſt, he ſaid *Zuinglius* was a learned man and could prove any thing, but ſaith he, O *Zuinglius I adjure thee by the living God to ſpeak thy conſcience, and tell the truth.* I will quoth *Zuinglius*, *thou art a ſeditious clowne, ſince milder anſwers will not ſerve the turn, I ſpeak plain and home.* Upon the 15. day of November, 1525. the *Senate* made a decree againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, and declared that *Zuinglius* had convinced them, clearely confuted the *Anabaptiſts*, and therefore they would proceed ſeverely againſt all *Anabaptiſts*.

Now

* *Socini Defenſ. Tract. de eccleſia ſub nomine Nicolaidæ: Omnes qui Anabaptiſtæ vocantur qui in Tolonia degunt, — Belgio, Italia &c — ideoque fraternitatem cum omnibus illis (ſc. Anabaptiſtis) inire ſatagunt (nempe Socini aſſecla) & quo minus res ſuccedat baſtenus per eos nullo modo ſtat ſed per illos penes quos eccleſiarum Evangelicarum regimen eſt & gubernatio pag. 62. vide Profeſſ. Leydenſ. Cenſuram in confeſſionem Remonſtrantium. Cenſur. Præfationis. ſect. 21.*

Lutherus datis ad Senatum Melhuſanum literis monebat lupum hunc perniciоſiſſimum diligentiſſime cavendum eſſe. Bullinger adverſus Anabaptiſt. lib. 1 ca. 1.

Anno 1525. in Curia Tigurina, Cyprian and the Biſhops of Carthage Councell, are cited by *Anabaptiſts*, but they were not pertinacious in their errour, as the *Anabaptiſts* now, the *Arians* and *Donatiſts* of old. There is no command for Rebaptization in Scripture, nay not ſo much as example for it, as the *Anabaptiſts* did themſelves confeſſe, when they ſaw that the place, *Act.* 19. 5. made nothing for them, See the conference at Frankendale, *Act.* 36. *art.* 12.

Vide Edictum Ampliſſimi Senatus urbis Tigurina. Bullinger adv. Anabap. lib. 1. cap. 5. Singuli Anabaptiſtæ ſufficienter nemine impediente & abſque jurgiis ſententiam ſuam expoſuerunt demum tamen firmiſſimis teſtimoniis ſacrarum literarum declaratum eſt Zuinglium cum ſuis ſectatoribus Anabaptiſtas viciſſe.

Now about this time *Servetus* the great Grand-father of *Fauſtus Socinus*, as hath been ſhewen, began to perk up, for *Servetus* was put to death in the yeare 1553. becauſe he had been a blaſphemer for thirty yeares together; ſo it ſeemes he began to vent his blaſphemies as ſoone as *Thomas Munzer* himſelfe, about the yeare 1523. *Theodorus Strackius* (being to ſet forth the Hiſtory of the *Anabaptiſts*) ſlides on a ſudden into a long ſtory of *Servetus* that monſter of Men, and enemy of God, nay (as he ſaith) of the whole true Godhead in the ſacred Trinity; this *Servetus* that he might ſhew his good inclination towards the fanaticall ſects of theſe times (ſaith *Strackius*) hath endeavoured to make the Baptiſme of Infants not neglected only, but abominated; I dare not mention his other blaſphemies, at which I think the very Devills tremble. There are ſo many ſeverall ſects, both of *Socinians* and *Anabaptiſts*, who have runne away with their mouths full of *Anabaptiſticall* and *Socinian* blaſphemies, that we muſt let them all paſſe for Sectaries of *Servetus* and *Socinus*, though ſome of them are farre more dangerous then others. The *Anabaptiſts* maintaine ſome opinions which are as welcome to the *Papiſts* and *Ieſuited* party in *England*, as other parts are to the *Socinians*; the *Anabaptiſts* did dreame at firſt of an *unwritten Word*, and a very ſubtile one too, ſuch as the *Pope* and *Jeſuites* dreame of, and ſuch viſions and Revelations as the *Prieſts* boaſt of. The Deſigne of the *Anabaptiſts* pleaſed the *Papiſts* well, becauſe they endeavoured to root out Proteſtant Princes and Miniſters, the *Papiſts* knew full well that no Church or State could ſtand without Magiſtrates and Miniſters. There is one *Iohannes Angelius* who commends *Servetus* and ſaith he ſpake nothing but what *David George* and ſuch *like Saints* have delivered; this Jeſuited Politician you ſee hath praiſes to ſpare for *Servetus*, one of the moſt abominable horrible *Anabaptiſts* of all others, as reverend *Bullinger* obſerves *lib. 2. contra Anabaptiſtas.* cap. 12. becauſe there are 12. *or* 13. *ſects of Anabaptiſts* in his account, and *Servetus* was one of the worſt ſort; but he ſaith *David*

Servetus vetus ille ſacra Triadis, id eſt omnis vere Deitatis hoſtis, adeoque mõſtrũ —— ne à fanaticis noſtrorum tẽporum Sectis abhorrere videretur, Baptiſmum Infantium quoque horrendis modis flagellavit & abominabilem reddere conatus fuit. Strack. Epiſt. Annotat.

Reliquos Articulos Muncers urgebant de Verbo Dei Subtili non Scripto, de Viſionibus & Revelationibus, &c. Bullinger. adverſus Anabap. lib. 1. cap. 4.

The Papiſts allow a Divorce & the change of an Hereticall wife as well as the *Anabaptiſts.*

Iohan. Angelius Werd. in Synopſi Bodini de Repub. nihil a Davide Georgio & talibus optimis Sanctorum alienum loquutus. Abominandos omnes Anabaptiſtas ſuperat blaſphemus ille David Georgius. Bulling adverſus Anabap. lib. 2. c. 14.

vid George went farre beyond even *Servetus* himſelfe. The truth is, theſe two were guilty of *ſublimed Anabaptiſme, deadly Socinianiſme*, though *David George* differed from *Socinus* in a point or two. Now what good friends the *Ieſuites* are to the *Socinians* hath been already ſhewen, what Patrons the *Arminians* are of *Anabaptiſme* the Profeſſours of *Leyden* declare. This being premitted, let us ſadly enquire whether our late writers doe encline to the *Anabaptiſts* and *Socinians* in the great point about the Authority of Princes and Magiſtrates; For I know it is commonly ſaid that though the firſt Reformers did oppoſe the *Anabaptiſts* in this point, yet the men that ſeeme to be moſt zealous for a Reformation in theſe unhappy dayes, are arrant *Anabaptiſts* in this point.

We live in an angry time, and men will ſpeake paſſionately when they are provoked, and vexed. I will not therefore take upon me to juſtify the angry expreſſions of the moſt judicious writer, much leſſe can I ever mention thoſe baſtard-Pamphlets without indignation, which ſpring from a Licentious and proſtituted Preſſe. Let us ſingle out ſome that have lately ſtudied this weighty controverſy, and it may be it will appear that they who are ſaid to write againſt the King have ſetled & eſtabliſhed his lawfull Authority upon ſurer grounds and better principles then thoſe very men who pretend to write for the King. Every man is now accounted an *Anabaptiſt* if he doe not maintain *Monarchy* to be *Iure Divino*; heare then what Dr. *Ferne* ſaith. We confeſſe that neither *Monarchy*, nor *Ariſtocracy*, or any other *forme is Iure Divino*. Nay he ſaith that *that Power or ſufficiency of Authority to govern which is the ordinance of God, is to be found not only in Monarchy, but in Ariſtocracy*, Sect. 3. Moreover if we conſider the qualification of this governing power, and the manner of executing it even according to *Monarchicall* government, Dr. *Ferne*

Vide Cenſuram Profeſſorum Leydenſium in Confeſſ. Remonſtrantium, & Cenſur. Præfat. Remonſtr.

In Arca Arminianorum vt in Arca Noa omnium ſpecierum animalia, quamvis diverſo ventris pabulo, conſervantur —— politico ſtratagemate Libertinis omnibus, Anabaptiſtis etiam profeſſis aditum præbent, vt viam ſibi parent ad eos opprimendos, quos vident ſuis conatibus obſtare. Cenſ. Præfat. Sect. 23 In Synodo ſua non obſtante confeſſione ſua Pædobaptiſmum non eſſe creditu neceſſarium ſtatuunt, nec miniſtros (Anabapt.) ex nomine damnandos. Cenſ. pag. 305 De cœna Domini errores Pontif. & Luth. rejiciunt, non Anabaptiſtarum & Socinianorum. Cenſur. in cap 23. Confeſſ. pag 310.

Perſonall defence is lawfull againſt the ſuddaine and illegall aſſaults of Meſſengers ſent from the Prince, nay if the King himſelfe ſtrike at any one he may ward the Kings blowes, hold his hands or the like. Dr. *Ferne* ſect. 2. He doth not condemne the people for hindring the execution of a particular paſſionate unlawfull command of the King by a loving violence and Importunity.

Sect. 2. See the Book entitled Scripture Reaſon, &c. The Text *Rom.* 13. doth ſecure a juſt ruling prince from all reſiſtance. *pag* 6. Magiſtrates muſt be ſubmitted to by vertue of Gods Soveraignty. Damnation belongs to obſtinate reſiſters of humane laws, which are not oppoſite to Gods law. p. 5. 7.

Now about this time *Servetus* the great Grand-father of *Fauſtus Socinus*, as hath been ſhewen, began to perk up, for *Servetus* was put to death in the yeare 1553. becauſe he had been a blaſphemer for thirty yeares together; ſo it ſeemes he began to vent his blaſphemies as ſoone as *Thomas Munzer* himſelfe, about the yeare 1523. *Theodorus Strackius* (being to ſet forth the Hiſtory of the *Anabaptiſts*) ſlides on a ſudden into a long ſtory of *Servetus* that monſter of Men, and enemy of God, nay (as he ſaith) of the whole true Godhead in the ſacred Trinity; this *Servetus* that he might ſhew his good inclination towards the fanaticall ſects of theſe times (ſaith *Strackius*) hath endeavoured to make the Baptiſme of Infants not neglected only, but abominated; I dare not mention his other blaſphemies, at which I think the very Devills tremble. There are ſo many ſeverall ſects, both of *Socinians* and *Anabaptiſts*, who have runne away with their mouths full of *Anabaptiſticall* and *Socinian* blaſphemies, that we muſt let them all paſſe for Sectaries of *Servetus* and *Socinus*, though ſome of them are farre more dangerous then others. The *Anabaptiſts* maintaine ſome opinions which are as welcome to the *Papiſts* and *Ieſuited* party in *England*, as other parts are to the *Socinians*; the *Anabaptiſts* did dreame at firſt of an *unwritten Word*, and a very ſubtile one too, ſuch as the *Pope* and *Jeſuites* dreame of, and ſuch viſions and Revelations as the *Prieſts* boaſt of. The Deſigne of the *Anabaptiſts* pleaſed the *Papiſts* well, becauſe they endeavoured to root out Proteſtant Princes and Miniſters, the *Papiſts* knew full well that no Church or State could ſtand without Magiſtrates and Miniſters. There is one *Iohannes Angelius* who commends *Servetus* and ſaith he ſpake nothing but what *David George* and ſuch *like Saints* have delivered; this Jeſuited Politician you ſee hath praiſes to ſpare for *Servetus*, one of the moſt abominable horrible *Anabaptiſts* of all others, as reverend *Bullinger* obſerves *lib. 2. contra Anabaptiſtas.* cap. 12. becauſe there are 12. *or* 13. *ſects of Anabaptiſts* in his account, and *Servetus* was one of the worſt ſort; but he ſaith *David*

Servetus vetus ille ſacræ Triadis, id eſt omnis veræ Deitatis hoſtis, adeoque mõſtrũ —— ne à fanaticis noſtrorum temporum Sectis abhorrere videretur, Baptiſmum Infantium quoque horrendis modis flagellavit & abominabilem reddere conatus fuit. Strack. Epiſt. Annexa.

Reliquos Articulos Minzers urgebant de Verbo Dei Subtili non Scripto, de Viſionibus & Revelationibus, &c. Bullinger. adverſus Anabap. lib. 1. cap. 4.

The Papiſts allow a Divorce & the change of an Mereticall wife as well as the *Anabaptiſts.*

Iohan. Angelius Werd. in Synopſi Bodini de Repub. nihil a Davide Georgio & talibus optimis Sanctorum alienum loquutus. Abominandos omnes Anabaptiſtas ſuperat blaſphemus ille David Georgius. Bulling adverſus Anabap. lib. 2. c. 14.

vid George went farre beyond even *Servetus* himſelfe. The truth is, theſe two were guilty of *ſublimed Anabaptiſme, deadly Socinianiſme*, though *David George* differed from *Socinus* in a point or two. Now what good friends the *Ieſuites* are to the *Socinians* hath been already ſhewen, what Patrons the *Arminians* are of *Anabaptiſme* the Profeſſours of *Leyden* declare. This being premitted, let us ſadly enquire whether our late writers doe encline to the *Anabaptiſts* and *Socinians* in the great point about the Authority of Princes and Magiſtrates; For I know it is commonly ſaid that though the firſt Reformers did oppoſe the *Anabaptiſts* in this point, yet the men that ſeeme to be moſt zealous for a Reformation in theſe unhappy dayes, are arrant *Anabaptiſts* in this point.

We live in an angry time, and men will ſpeake paſſionately when they are provoked, and vexed. I will not therefore take upon me to juſtify the angry expreſſions of the moſt judicious writer, much leſſe can I ever mention thoſe baſtard-Pamphlets without indignation, which ſpring from a Licentious and proſtituted Preſſe. Let us ſingle out ſome that have lately ſtudied this weighty controverſy, and it may be it will appear that they who are ſaid to write againſt the King have ſetled & eſtabliſhed his lawfull Authority upon ſurer grounds and better principles then thoſe very men who pretend to write for the King. Every man is now accounted an *Anabaptiſt* if he doe not maintain *Monarchy* to be *Iure Divino*; heare then what Dr. *Ferne* ſaith. We confeſſe that neither *Monarchy*, nor *Ariſtocracy*, or any other *forme is Iure Divino*. Nay he ſaith that *that Power or ſufficiency of Authority to govern which is the ordinance of God, is to be found not only in Monarchy, but in Ariſtocracy*, Sect. 3. Moreover if we conſider the qualification of this governing power, and the manner of executing it even according to *Monarchicall* government, Dr.

Vide Cenſuram Profeſſorum Leydenſium in Confeſſ. Remonſtrantium, & Cenſur. Tract. Remonſtr.

In Arca Arminianorum vt in Arca Noa omnium ſpecierum animalia, quamvis diverſo ventris pabulo, conſervantur —— poſtquam ſtratagemate Libertinis omnibus, Anabaptiſtis etiam profeſſis aditum præbent, vt viam ſibi parent ad eos opprimendos, quos vident ſuis conatibus obſtare. Cenſ. Præfat. Sect. 23 In Synodo ſua non obſtante confeſſione ſua Pædobaptiſmum non eſſe creditu neceſſarium ſtatuunt, nec miniſtros (Anabapt.) eo nomine dimovendos. Cenſ pag. 305 De cœna Domini errores Pontif & Lutb. rejectum, non Anabaptiſtarum & Socinianorum. Cenſur. in cap 23. Confeſſ. pag 310.

Perſonall defence is lawfull againſt the ſuddaine and illegall aſſaults of Meſſengers ſent from the Prince, nay if the King himſelfe ſtrike at any one he may ward the Kings blowes, hold his hands or the like. Dr. *Ferne* ſect. 2. He doth not condemne the people for hindring the execution of a particular, paſſionate unlawfull command of the King by a loving violence and Importunity.

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Ferne grants *that it is the Invention of man*, and hath not ſo much as Gods Permiſſive approbation till that qualification or Forme is orderly agreed upon by Men; in the ſelfe ſame Sec. Be pleaſed now to hear Mr. *Burroughes*: However Princes may be exaſperated againſt Puritanicall Preachers (ſaith M. *Burroughes*) yet they are as much beholding to them as to any people in their kingdomes for bringing people out of conſcience to obey Authority; You ſee here the people are preſſed to obey the lawfull Authority of the King out of Conſcience by ſuch as are counted Puritanicall Preachers. In the anſwer to the obſervations printed at Oxford by his Majeſties command, I find that *Monarchy* is not much younger then man himſelfe—*that Regall Power ſprang firſt from Paternall, a Regall power belonged to the Paterfamilias, pag.* 3. as if he meant onely to conclude the ſubjection of the Kings children and family: the *Patriarchs were Patres Patriæ* without a Metaphor, they begat their own Subjects. But how came divers families to be ſubjected to one King or common Father? why, *reaſon* (ſaith he) *did direct the people* to chooſe *one common Father. p.6.* Monarchy then is grounded upon the peoples Reaſon, and yet quite thorowout his book he talkes as if the people had no Reaſon, for he tells them that *there may be reaſonable motives why a people ſhould conſent to ſlavery, as the Turkes and French peaſants have done*: he teaches them how to periſh with a great deale of diſcretion, or elſe how to be ſafe by the benefit of ſlavery. p.10,11. The Obſervatour ſaith that Regall dignity was erected to preſerve the Commonalty; It was ſo, ſaith the Anſwerer, p.8. and when Routs became Societies they placed an head over them to whom they paid the Tribute of Reverence for the benefit of Protection: What if the people be not, protected muſt they pay no tribute? God ſend his Majeſty better Protectours then this Champion. Dr. *Fern* diſcourſes juſt as wiſely when he propounds *Davids* rewarding of falſe *Ziba* as a pattern to our King, he would perſwade the King to truſt *Papiſts*

Mr. *Burroughes* his Sermon of the L. of Hoſts. pag. 45.

Scripture and Reaſon the book ſet forth by divers Miniſters. The conſcience is bound to obey the lawfull commands of Magiſtrates, Gods wrath is upon the conſcience of them that diſobey. p. 8. Magiſtrates are to be maintained upon the publike ſtock. p. 8. read pag. 12 13. and judge whether theſe Divines doe not plead the Kings cauſe better then Dr. *Ferne*; they ſay that the very houſes of Parliament may not reſiſt the Authority of the King commanding according to law. pag. 23. Read the Miniſters Epiſtle to the Reader, and their anſwer to the 7. Section of Dr. *Ferne*.

The Papiſts ſay that although Kings doe governe by the lawes of their kingdome, yet becauſe they are againſt the Catholique Religion, Subjects may riſe up againſt their King and kill him, this doctrine of theirs we abhorre.

piſts as falſe as *Ziba* to ſeiſe upon the eſtates of his good Subjects; and beſtow their eſtates upon *arrant Ziba's*, men that abuſe his Majeſty and ſeek their own ends, & when the innocency of the Subject and treachery of theſe *Ziba's, Papiſts or Pickthankes* is diſcovered, yet the King muſt not reverſe his ſentence pronounced in favour of the *Papiſts* though to the ruine of good Subjects and their poſterity, all this Divinity is cloſely involved by this *conſcientious Doctour*, in the 7. Section. How farre the *Divines* of this time differ from the doctrine of *Papiſts* is clearly ſhewen by Mr. *Burroughes*, Mr. *Bridge*, and therefore it is ſtrange the *Papiſts* ſhould be counted the better Subjects. Mr. *Burroughes* doth acknowledge the Kings Supremacy, The King (ſaith he) is Supreme but not Abſolute, becauſe his Authority is limited both by the Law of God and of the Land. For we may *and ought* (ſaith Doctour *Ferne*) *to deny obedience to ſuch commands of the Prince as are unlawfull by the Law of God, yea by the eſtabliſhed lawes of the Land*; for *in theſe we have his will and conſent given upon goood advice, and to obey him againſt the lawes, were to obey him againſt himſelfe, his ſuddain will againſt his deliberate will*, Sect. 1. *For inſtance, it is the Kings deliberate wil that this Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved, or any forces levyed without conſent of both houſes of Parliament, as appeares by two ſeverall Acts made this Parliament. If then any take up armes either without conſent of Parliament, or on purpoſe to diſſolve this preſent Parliament, they doe certainly take up armes againſt the King himſelfe*, (as Dr. *Ferne* ſays) *becauſe againſt the deliberate will of the King*. If any *Commiſſions* then ſhould be iſſued out in the *Kings name* to any perſons to encourage them to take up Armes without the conſent of the *Parliament*, or againſt the *Parliament*, ſuch Commiſſions muſt be interpreted to proceed from the Kings *ſuddaine will*, which is not to be obeyed, ſaith Dr. *Ferne*, againſt the *Kings Deliberate Will*. They are not the Kings friends who adviſe him to ſend forth any Illegall commands.

Mr. *Burroughes* Sermon of the L. of Hoaſts. p. 41. See Mr. *Bridge* his Anſwer to Dr. *Ferne*. The Papiſts doe not only hold it lawfull to depoſe, & thus to depoſe their Prince, but to kill him alſo, yea that a private man inveſted with the Popes Authority may do thus, all which we abhorre. Sect. 5. p. 32.

Papiſts owe ſubjection to a forraine State, croſſe centered to this of his Majeſties, in its intereſt of State, and meritoriouſly malitious by its very Articles of faith. The fuller Anſwer to Dr *Ferne*. p. 23.

The name King doth ſignifie a perſon inveſted with different power according to the variety of Lawes in ſeverall nations. See an anſwer to the Obſervations printed at Oxford by his Majeſties command. p. 6. What the Lawes of the Kingdome and Priviledges of Parliament are, the Lawyers books dayly publiſhed declare.

Nemo poteſt mutare Conſilium ſuum in alterius injuriam. There would be no end if the King ſhould undoe what he hath done—— there can be no appeale from himſelfe to himſelfe——he is not to paſſe ſentence in a private but in a publique and judiciall way. Anſwer to the obſervations, pag. 22. Set forth by his Majeſties command. *Poteſtas νομοθετικὴ eſt ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ*

There is another anſwer to Dr. *Ferne* intitled a fuller anſwer, in which there is much Law and Logick (viz. that in a Mixt Monarchy there is a Co-ordinate Supremacy, and *Coordinata invicem ſuppleant*) and a great many things which the common people underſtand not. This Reſpondent ſaith (as Dr. *Fern* doth) that *Monarchy* is not *Gods ordinance*, but then he tells the people their duty in plaine Engliſh, namely, that it is Gods ordinance that men ſhould ſubmit without Reſiſtance, to that kind of government which they have by conſent eſtabliſhed, and therefore they muſt ſubmit to this *Coordinate Supremacy*, though it be the *Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake*, as Saint *Peter* ſaith. pag. 17. Here is Submiſſion out of Conſcience for the Lords ſake, to all Legall Supremacy; what can be deſired more, unleſſe they would make the King an Abſolute Monarch? (and ſo give him an abſolute Supremacy) which the King himſelfe doth utterly diſclaime in his anſwer to the 19. Propoſitions.

The zealous Divines of this very time doe abhorre the ſeditious practiſes and opinions of all *Anabaptiſts*, who becauſe the Church had not Chriſtian Kings at firſt, cry out with open mouth [a] that the Church cannot be ſafe if there be any King or Magiſtrate in the Church; nay they adde that if a King turn Chriſtian he muſt ceaſe to be a King, becauſe Chriſtianity it ſelfe is repugnant to Magiſtracy, and no [b] Magiſtrate ought to look after any thing that concernes Religion. They maintain that Chriſtians ought not to have any Judiciall tryalls before Magiſtrates, that no Chriſtians ought to puniſh offendors with death or impriſonment, but with Excommunication only. They would not have Heretikes puniſhed by the Magiſtrate, [c] but every man ſhould be left to his liberty to beleeve what he thinks fit, juſt as the *Arminians* and *Socinians* dreame. I would Kings and Princes did ſeriouſly conſider that the [d] *Arminians* have taught Heretikes to rebell againſt

By Law the King cannot, will not refuſe to hearken to his great Councell——

Anſwer to the Obſervation pag. 28. and pag. 37. he ſaith that by the happy temper of our government, Monarchy is ſo wiſely ballanced, that as we are not expoſed to the dangers which attend the Rule of the many, ſo we may avoid the inconveniences which might probably flow from the Arbitrary power of one. The ſame Author doth readily grant that Parliaments are good Helpes in Government. p. 13. *ergo* they are ſomewhat more then Counſellours.

[a] *Quemadmodum Anabaptiſta opinantur quod nullus Magiſtratus in Eccleſia eſſe poſſit. Bulling adv. Anabapt. lib. 5. p. 157.* See Scripture and Reaſon ſet forth by divers learned Miniſters.

[b] *Vide Bulling lib. 5. cap. 2 cap. 2. Magiſtratum non poſſe neque debere curare res religionis.*

[c] *Vide eundem cap. 4, 5. ejuſdem libri. Contendunt Anabaptiſta in Eccleſiâ unicuique liberum eſſe debere ut agat & credat quod ipſi viſum fuerit, ubi ſupra. cap. 7.*

[d] *Nulla Carnalis coercitio nulla pœna erantibus conſtituta à Deo eſt —— omnes in ſeipſum armat qui in alios quos errare credit armatur. Par omnium in omnes Ius eſt. Qui ſibi jus tribuit coercendi alios, idem aliis in ſeipſum Idem jus ut concedat neceſſe eſt. Exam. Cenſ. cap. 24. pag. 255.*

gainſt any Prince or Magiſtrate who goes about to inflict puniſhment upon them in a legall way; for, ſay they, *if the Magiſtrate goes about to puniſh an Heretike becauſe he thinks the Heretike in an errour, the Heretikes may all joyne together and riſe up in armes againſt the Magiſtrate becauſe they conceive the Magiſtrate to be in an errour*; for the *Heretikes* have as much power to kill the Magiſtrate, as the Magiſtrate hath to execute ſuch ſeditious Heretikes, *Par omnium in omnes jus eſt, is not that pure Anabaptiſme* in the higheſt? Nay they adde farther, that though the *Heretikes* be ſeditious, *Reipub. Turbones*, if they be *Apoſtates*, if they turne *Iewes* and blaſpheme Chriſt, yet they would not have them puniſhed by the Magiſtrates: theſe *Arminian, Socinian, Anabaptiſticall* errours are juſtly abhorred by the Divines of this very time. There is at this very day a great talke of *Tubbe-Preachers*; if there be any ſuch, the *Arminians* and *Socinians* muſt defend them as long as they keep in private, but if they preach falſe doctrine publikely, then indeed the *Arminians* would have them grievouſly puniſhed, the Magiſtrate may if it be needfull (ſay they) make a whippe of Cords and drive them out of the Temple, as our Saviour did the Hucksters: Thus they abuſe our Saviour and the Magiſtrate both in a breath, they will not allow the Magiſtrate to doe any more. They doe not think it neceſſary that Miniſters ſhould expect a Miſſion in the firſt conſtituting of a Church, for then there can be no order, for order is not yet begun, nor muſt Miniſters expect a Miſſion when a Church is to be reformed, for then they ſay all order is quite fallen to the ground, and therefore the Word may be lawfully preached by them that are not ſent, ſo the *Arminians* (*Exam. Cenſ. cap.* 21. *pag.* 228.) ſtate the point. You ſee if there be any *Tubbe-preachers*, now our Church is but Reforming, they doe punctually obſerve the *Arminians* grave inſtructions. The *Arminians* allow a liberty of Prophecying, if any man ſhall perſwade himſelfe that he hath received ſome ſpirituall interpretations of the Word by the inſpiration, ſuggeſtion, aſſiſtance of the holy Ghoſt, and any Magiſtrate ſhall impriſon this man, becauſe the interpretation is contrary to the Spirit of the Reformed Divines,

Lex iſta de Apoſtatu à Chriſtianiſmo non agit nedum de Apoſtatis ad Iudaiſmum, &c —— Religionem Suam liberam Chriſtus eſſe voluit; qui ab ea deficiunt, ſuo periculo & damno deficiunt. Ex Cenſura cap. 24 *p.* 264.

Tub-preachers.

Nihil tamen aliud colligetur quam ejectionem Hæreticorum ex publico templo ad magiſtratum pertinere, tibus licite à magiſtratu fieri poſſe, & quidem ſi neceſſe ſit flagelloe funiculo eis finis facto, ulterius aut plus concludere nemo jure poteſt. At hoc jus Magiſtratui plenâ manu tribuunt Remonſtrantes; Hac ergo in parte imitatur Magiſtratus Chriſtum. Exam. Cenſ. cap. 24 *pag.* 269. *At in primâ Eccleſiæ conſtitutione cùm ordo non eſt, aut in ejus reſtitutione cum ordo collapſus eſt, Miſſionem neceſſariam eſſe ne-*

vines, the Magiſtrate doth impriſon the ſpirit and quench the ſpirit, and the *Church of Rome* may as well empriſon any Proteſtant becauſe he brings an interpretation contrary to the Spirit of their Church, which is as the Papiſts conceive infallibly guided by the Spirit. Here's nothing but *Qui ſibi perſuadet*, a ſtrong perſwaſion required to beare out this *Enthyſiaſt*, though he ſeemes to the Reformed Divines to preach nothing but his own brain-ſick fancies, nay phrenſies, *Sed hoc ipſum eſt Spiritum extinguere, authoritatem ſibi arrogare, Spiritum qui cum Spiritu noſtro* (by our Spirit they meane the Spirit which enlightens the Reformed Divines) *non convenit, pro inſanâ & corrupta mente, libidine contendendi, adeoq; mali ſpiritus ſuggeſtione, cenſendi, eoq; nomine vi armata eum opprimendi—Colloca teipſum coram tribunali Pontificio, Reformationem dogmatum, & Articulorum variorum urgentem & orantem ne ſpiritum tuum quem divinum eſſe credis extinguat; quid reſpondebis ſi tibi reponat verba tua, an ſpiritus eſt quod cuiq; inſana & corrupta mens, contendendi libido, adeoq; malus ſpiritus ſuggerit? Exam. Cenſ. cap. 24. pag. 276.* Unleſſe we have that infallible Spirit which the Apoſtles had to diſcern ſpirits, the *Arminians* tell us we muſt allow men liberty to propheſy contrary to the Spirit of the Reformed Doctours, or elſe our cenſure of theſe *Enthyſiaſts* will bee doubtfull, uncertain. Finally (for I am weary of this ſubject) they will admit *Anabaptiſts* to be true and lawfull Paſtours of Chriſt. *cap. 23. Exam. Cenſ. de Baptiſmo. pag. 248. in fine.* Sure this is liberty enough, the *Socinians* need not deſire more, the *Arminians* and *Socinians* then muſt patronize theſe *Tubbe-preachers*.

gant (Remonſt.) proinde eam de eſſentia muneris Eccleſiaſtici quod in verbi legitimâ prædicatione conſiſtit, non eſſe habendam. Ex Cen. c. 21. p. 228

Aut libertas hæc communis eſſe debet & eo uſque extendi quo eam quiſque ſibi Concedi amat, *aut ut inferenda aliorum conſcientiis Exam. Cenſ. c. 24. p 277.*

Remonſtrantes cauſam nullam eſſe vident cur ſententia eorum qui Tadobaptiſmum neceſſario in eccleſia Chriſti neceſſitatis ſeu Præcepti ſeu Medii retinendum aut uſurpandũ eſſe non arbitrantur, ut intolerabilis in Eccleſia cenſenda ſit, ac proinde cur paſtores iſti qui eum per conſcientiam uſurpare non audent ——pro veris ac legitimis paſtoribus Chriſti habendi non ſint?

Browniſts.

In the next place there is a complaint of *Browniſts*, to which complaint I ſhall anſwer briefly, and yet fully.

Firſt, they are to be blamed who gave the firſt occaſion of this Rent: I know between 40. and 50. yeares agoe, there were ſome followers of *Browne*, but in the latter end of King *James* his reigne, the number of *Browniſts* properly ſo called was much decreaſed, and it was a rare thing to meet with a *Browniſt*; but when Biſhop *Land* began to ſit at ſtern, (and ſo he did a while even in *Arch-Biſhop Abbot* his

his time) then the number of *Browniſts* began to encreaſe; the reaſon was, becauſe ceremonies began to be urged upon the conſcience with ſo much earneſtneſſe as if they had been neceſſary to ſalvation: and about 6. or 7. yeares ſince when the *Arch-Biſhop* was in his ruffe, and *his Prieſts* began to ſurrogate it, preaching for doctrines the commandements of men, and conſequently *worſhipping God in vaine, Math.* 15. 9. men of tender conſciences (and thoſe no weake ones neither) began to feare, that they ſhould tranſgreſſe the Commandements of God, by obſerving Traditions, *Math.* 15. 3. and conceived it vain, to joyne with them in worſhip, who worſhipped God in vain.

Where the cauſe of Schiſme is neceſſary, there not he that ſeparates but he that is the cauſe of ſeparation is the *Schiſmatique.* Tract concerning Schiſme. *pag.* 4.

Many were prevailed with by this reaſon, but there were ſome of a moderate temper, who if they might have the liberty of their conſcience, and not be forced to the uſe of any Ceremonies, would, and did, communicate even in Pariſh-Churches: But the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* began to lay on greater burdens; *Crucifixes* muſt be ſet up at the Eaſt-end, that was too plain; next, the Communion-Table, to colour the Deſign, or, at leaſt, to add varniſh to it, muſt be advanced into an Altar, & men muſt by a *Tacit conſent*, (as we were informed at the Viſitation of *Merton College*) expreſſe ſome outward reverence, by bowing towards the Eaſt, the Altar, the Crucifixe, chooſe which you pleaſe, all if you will; but in no caſe muſt we be commanded to bow, & yet we muſt be cenſured as diſobedient, if we refuſe to bow. This was interpreted by *Rationall men* an asking of our conſent to bring in *Popery*: It was now high time to make *Proteſtations* that we would *neither bow to Eaſt, nor Hoaſt, nor Altar*, for if we held our peace we knew not what might come by *Tacite conſent*. We were ſure that our actions would ſpeak aloud, and how *tacite* ſoever our conſent was, it would be known to God & our conſcience. I will not take this faire Hint to runne into a long ſtory of what cenſures were paſſed upon my ſelfe or others, for our Proteſtation againſt this *ſuperſtitious Innovation*, but ſure I am that by degrees there were ſo many *Innovations* both in point of Doctrine, and externall worſhip, that the Papiſts themſelves thought thoſe of greateſt worth, learning and Authority

thority in England, knew not well what Religion to be of, or where to faſten. The *Jeſuite who wrote* the directions to *N. N.* which Mr. *Chillingworth* endeavours to anſwer, began to triumph in our complyances with Rome. Heark what he ſaith. "*Proteſtantiſme waxeth weary of it ſelfe, the "Profeſſours of it, they eſpecially of greateſt worth, learning and "Authority, love temper and Moderation, and are at this time "more unreſolved where to faſten, then at the infancy of their "Church. Their Churches begin to look with a new face, their "walls to ſpeak a new language, their Doctrines to be altered in "many things, &c.* Mr. *Chillingworth* is ſo vaine as to call this *painting of Churches* the *Beauty of Holineſſe*, Sect. 22. But to proceed, If the guides of the Church would not endure ſo much as a Nominall Inconformity with Rome, if they and their Adherents looked ſo like, and preached ſo like them, that the Papiſts themſelves took them for *Romane Catholiques*; no marvaile if the poore people cryed out that *England* was turned *Babylon*, and began to ſeparate; for that is very obſervable which Judicious *Hooker* delivers in his *Eccleſiaſticall Politie*. *The people* (ſaith he) *are not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with nice and ſubtile differences in the exerciſes of Religion—and* (ſaith he) *in actions of this kinde*, (hee ſpeakes of *adoration* of the *Croſſe*, it may well be applyed to adoration towards the *Eaſt*, *hoaſt*, *altar*, *Crucifixe*) *we are more to reſpect what the greateſt part of men is commonly prone to conceive, then what ſome few mens wits may deviſe in conſtruction of their owne particular meanings*. They then are to be blamed who invented a few cogging diſtinctions to juggle with God and their conſcience, and thought to ſalve up all with ſome curious ſubtilties which the people underſtood not. If they that ſhould be lights of the Church gave no better light then an *Ignis fatuus*, which doth ſeduce them into bogges and ditches, if they puzzeld the people and gave them good cauſe to doubt whether it was ſafe to communicate or no, muſt the people communicate when they are perplexed with ſuch doubts that they cannot communicate in faith? *He that doubts is damned if he eat*, Rom. 14. 23. The poore people could not be reſolved, and durſt

See Mr. *Chilling.* Preface, Sect. 20.

Hooker Eccleſiaſt. Polit l. 5 ſect. 65.

Mr *Chill.* Anſwer to the Preface. *p.* 16. Sect. 22. There cannot be any Schiſme in leaving Communion with any Church, unleſſe we are obliged to continue in it; man cannot be obliged by man, but to what either formally or vertually he is obliged by God. Was it not lawfull for Judah to reforme her ſelfe whē Iſrael would not joyn? Sure it was or elſe the Prophet deceives me; that ſayes expreſly, Though Iſrael tranſgreſſe, yet let not Judah ſinne.

durſt not be damned; ſure the *Archbiſhop* was rather *Schiſmaticall*, in impoſing ſuch burthens upon tender *Communicants*, then the people in ſeparating from externall Communion. Let Mr. *Chillingworth* be Judge, ſure he is no *Browniſt*; "*Neither is it alwayes of neceſſity Schiſmaticall to ſeparate from* "*the externall Communion of a Church, though wanting nothing* "*neceſſary. For if this Church ſuppoſed to want nothing neceſſary,* "*require me to profeſſe againſt my conſcience, that I beleeve ſome* "*error, though never ſo ſmall and innocent, which I doe not be-* "*leeve, and will not allow me her Communion, but upon this* "*condition; In this caſe the Church for requiring this Condition is Schiſmaticall, and not I for ſeparating from the Church.*

The Archb. of Cant. his Relation. *pag* 149. See Mr. *Chillingworths* Preface, Sect. 44. answer to the 2. Motive. There may bee juſt cauſe to depart from a particular Church in ſome doctrins and practiſes, though that Church want nothing neceſſary to ſalvation. Dr. *Tetter.* 2. Edit. Sect. 3. p. 75. There may be a neceſſary ſeparation, which yet incurres not the blame of Schiſme The Archb. of Canterbury his Relation. p. 133. *in margine.*

Secondly, all *Separatiſts* are not *Browniſts*; it is evident from this very place of Mr. *Chillingworth*; for a man may have juſt cauſe to ſeparate from the *externall* [a] Communion of a Church, though he think that there are all things neceſſary to ſalvation in that Church. But no *Browniſt* doth conceive that there are all things neceſſary to ſalvation in any of our Pariſh Churches. They deny that there is any true Church or Miniſters of God to bee found in any Pariſh of England; or that all the Pariſhes taken collectively can make one Church of God; they ſay our Congregations and Miniſters are limbs of [b] *Antichriſt, Babylonians, Idolaters*; this Doctrine I have ever preached againſt, (I preached againſt it even at Weſtminſter, where they ſay *there are ſo many Browniſts*) and reſolve to preach againſt it ſtill.

[a] Nor can you ſay that Iſrael from the time of Separation was not a Church. See the Archb. of Cant. Relat. pag. 149.

[b] See the Defece of the Churches and Miniſtery of England by Mr. *Iacob* againſt Mr. *Iohnſon*; the Publiſhers Epiſtle to the Reader prefixed before the Booke.

3. There are ſome reverend and learned *Miniſters* in this Kingdome, who are commonly called the *Independent Miniſters*, and theſe are all put downe for Browniſts, if not Anabaptiſts, in the Oxford Catalogue, though the *Arminians* have no reaſon to cenſure any that goe from a Congregation that is leſſe pure, to one that is more pure. I will therefore briefely ſhew that theſe Miniſters are neither Anabaptiſts nor Browniſts. They will not ſay the Magiſtrate is an Head of the Church, but they ſay that *Every Chriſtian Magiſtrate is an Head in the Church*, which no *Anabaptiſt* will ſay. They ſay that *the Prelates doe not hold from the Head,*

Non enim ſi ab hiſce cœtibus ad alios forte diſcedat, protinus eos quos deſerit contemnit aut à ſpe ſalutis excluſos judicat, ſed tantummodo ab impurioribus ad puriores ſe confert, ut veritatem omnem ſaluti noſtræ aliquatenus ſervientem ſibi cura & cordi eſſe oſtendat, & Deo ac Ieſu Chriſto ſuo conſcientiam ſuam probet, Say the Arminians in their Preface to their Confeſſion.

as all Officers of the Church ſhould doe, Epheſ. 4. 15, 16. and yet they acknowledge that it is poſſible for a Prelate, and the Dioceſe under him to *hold the Head*, as the phraſe is, *Coloſ.* 2. 19. and this no *Anabaptiſt* or *Browniſt* will acknowledge. They will communicate even in a Pariſh-aſſembly, where the Miniſter and people generally deſire and labour by all lawfull meanes to procure a Reformation. They proteſt againſt *Browniſme*, as a * bitter error, and full of cruelty; what can be deſired more, to cleare them from being *Browniſts* or *Anabaptiſts*? I heard the ſame man preach ſince with much fervency and earneſtneſſe of ſpirit againſt the *Browniſts* for this their error, and among other inconveniencies which ariſe therefrom, hee mentioned this, that upon the ſame ground and reaſon for which they chiefely make the Churches in England no true Churches, nor the Miniſters thereof, true Miniſters, they muſt make all thoſe in *Scotland*, *France*, and other Reformed Churches, (whom yet they ſeeme to acknowledge) to be no true Churches; and ſo no true Churches to have beene in Europe ſince the Reformation but themſelves, which were a horrid opinion to enter into a mans heart.

* See Mr. *Thomas Goodwin* his Faſt Sermon preached at Weſtminſter.

4. *Browniſts* doe not, that ever I could learne, differ from *Proteſtants*, concerning Civill government, and therefore I doe not know why men ſhould cry out, that Browniſts are greater enemies to the State then Papiſts themſelves: We have not yet forgot the *Powder-treaſon*, and we doe ſtill groane under the *Iriſh Rebellion*.

See Mr. *Burroughs* his Sermon of the L. of Hoaſts. p. 46. The Ieſuits have beene the Authors and Inſtruments of all tumults, ſeditions, &c. as Dr. *Potter* ſhewes, Want of Charity, &c. Sect. 1. pag. 9.

5. If the *Browniſts* be as bad as the *Donatiſts* of old, if they conceive that there is no true Church but *in parte Browniſtarum*, as they conceived there was none but *in parte Donati*: if they ſhould deny the Catholique Church (which they do not) and refuſe to Communicate with any of the Reformed Churches, or with any Independent Congregation, becauſe they will not communicate with any who are ready to embrace communion with any Pariſh Church, let their errour, ſchiſme, pride, uncharitableneſſe, cruelty,

The preſent Church of Rome perſwades men they were as good for any hope of ſalvation they have not to be Chriſtians, as not to bee Roman Catholiques — be abſolutely out of the Churches Communion, as be out of her Communion — whether ſhee bee not guilty of the ſame crime with the Donatiſts, and thoſe Zelots of the Moſaicall Law, let reaſonable men judge. Mr. *Chillingworth*. c. 3. Sect. 64. See Dr. *Potter* Sect. 4.

cruelty, and bitterneſſe be aggravated to the higheſt, yet the *Papiſts* have no reaſon to complaine of them; for *Papiſts* deny the Catholike Church as directly as the *Browniſts* can be thought to doe, they confine it to their owne party; the *Socinians* and *Arminians* may hold their peace for ſhame, for they both tell us, that it is poſſible that Chriſt may have no Church at all, neither in this part nor that, hee may bee an Head without a Body, an Husband without a Spouſe, a King without Subjects, as hath beene ſhewen above, pag. 49. The *Socinians* ſay that there is not as yet any triumphant Church above, nor is it neceſſary there ſhould bee any militant Church here below. It was no errour in the *Donatiſts* that they held it poſſible that the Church might bee contracted from a larger extent to a leſſer, (as Mr. *Chillingworth* obſerves) but their error was that they held it done *de Facto*, when they had no juſt ground or reaſon to doe ſo; *chap.* 3. *p.* 162. But the Author of the Tract concerning Schiſme doth quite outleape Mr. *Chillingworth*. *It is* (ſaith he) *a thing indifferent, the Church may be in any number more or leſſe, it may be in any place, Countrey or Nation, it may be in all, and for ought I know it may be in none*, pag. 7. Sure the *Browniſt* is more moderate, he ſaith there muſt be a Church.

St. *Auguſtine* and *Optatus* did acknowledge the Donatiſts to bee their brethren, & their Baptiſme to be true Baptiſme, *vide Aug. in Pſal.* 32. *Con* 2. *Epiſt.* 166. *Et contra Donat. poſt Coll. cap. ult. Optat. l.* 1. *Aug. contra Creſc. lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. *de Baptiſ. contra Donat. lib.* 1. *c.* 10, 11. Dr. *Potter* doth confeſſe this truth. *Sect.* 4. *p.* 107, 108, 109. the firſt edition.

6. But the great quarrell with the *Browniſt* is, that hee would have the *Common-prayer Booke* taken away; To which I anſwer in a word, that they are not all *Browniſts* who deſire to have that Law abrogated, by which the Common-prayer Booke is eſtabliſhed; Mr. *Chillingworth* deſires that there might be this triall made betweene us and the Papiſts, *That there might be ſome Forme of Worſhipping God propounded which is wholly taken out of the Scripture*; and herein ſaith he to the *Papiſts*, if we refuſe to joyne with you, then, and not till then, may you juſtly ſay we have utterly and abſolutely abandoned your Communion. Anſwer to the Preface. *Sect.* 23. May not ſome that are not *Browniſts* ſay the ſame to us, we keepe our diſtance from you, meerely becauſe your Forme of worſhipping God is not taken wholly out of Scripture, though for the preſent then wee joyne not with you, yet doe not ſay (till that be done) that wee doe utterly and

absolutely abandon your Communion. The Author of the Tract of Schisme would have such a Forme of service, as *Donatists*, *Arians*, *Papists*, all that call themselves *Christians*, might joyne in; *p* 9, 10. You see he dislikes the *Common-prayer Booke*, and sure dislikes the best part of it, the *Creeds*, he is farre worse then a *Browniſt*. Be pleased to observe that Liturgies were first composed to expell Socinianisme, and now this Author would have a Liturgie composed to let in Arianisme, or at least to humour the Arians, and sooth them up in their Heresie, as if the Articles of our Creed were but private fancies, and it concerned us more to please Heretickes, then preserve our Creed. But there is a learned man of a more moderate opinion, and sounder judgement then either of the former, though they bee both very learned men, it is Dr. *Featley*, be pleased to heare him speake. *There is nothing* (saith he) *in the Protestant Liturgie or Service which the Romanists do, or by their owne Rules can except at; The Confession, forme of Absolution, Prayers, Hymnes, Collects*, &c. *are either such as the Papists themselves use, or at least such as they dislike not*; in his Annotations on *Vertumnus Romanus*, p. 16, 17. Now this is the very reason the *Papists* bragge so much, and why some that are not *Brownists* take offence at our *Liturgy*. And this *learned Doctor* tels us, that all who love the truth in sincerity, should with bended knees humbly desire that his *Majesty*, *and the high Court of Parliament*, *would make some more certaine distinctive signe betweene Papists and Protestants*, *then monthly comming to Church*, *and taking the oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy*. Now how this present Liturgy which the Papists like so well, can make any such distinction, let the prudent judge. I intend not to run out into the large question, about the necessity or Antiquity of Liturgies; but let men that are so violent in this point consider;

1. How corrupt those Liturgies are which are voted for ancient. 2. How much Bishop *Hall* is forced to grant, when this question was agitated betweene him and the *Smectymnuans*. 3. To passe by what is said about the lawfulnesse of a Set-forme, let them consider what Arguments are produced against the Imposition of a Set-forme. 4. If it were granted

Mr. *Chillingw.* desires that nothing else should be required of any man to make him capable of the Churches communion, then that he beleeve the Scripture, and that only, and endeavour to beleeve it in the true sense. His Preface to the Author, &c. answer to the last Motive.

Ecclesiam nostram in omnibus audiendam esse cõsequitur duo'us modo, tum quâ mutaverunt pleraque in Divinis Officiis, tum quâ multa retinuerunt: nam in altero se ad Antichristum pertinere declararunt; in altero nos esse populum Dei, & se esse simias nostras confessi sunt. Brist. Mor Tom. 2 Mor. 23. p 242. & seq.

See Bp. *Mortons* Appeale. Troubles of Frankford.

See Dr *Featleys* Advertisement to the Reader, prefixed before *Vertumnus Romanus*.

ted that a Set-forme may be impoſed, yet thoſe many cart-loads of Arguments which are produced againſt *this* Set-forme are conſiderable. 5. It is confeſſed, that a Miniſter ſhould be able to pray as well as preach, and ſhould give and even devote himſelfe to prayer, he ſhould meditate and ſtudy how to pray. 6. It is granted on all ſides that wee ought to pray according to the occaſion, and how we ſhould foreſee all the wants and ſtraits of a Church, and compoſe a Set-forme for them before-hand, it concernes them to declare. When K. *Iames* was to adviſe Prince *Henry* how to pray, hee did not thinke it ſufficient to leave him to the Church-Liturgy, or to any prayers compoſed by man; the onely Rule of Prayer, ſaith he, is the Lords Prayer: he adviſed him to ſtudy the Pſalmes of *David*, becauſe they being compoſed by a King, hee might collect prayers out of them moſt ſutable to his wants, and ſo he ſhould be enabled to pray according to the occaſion; he diſſwaded him from following the common ignorant ſort, that *prayes nothing but out of bookes*, for that would breed an uncouth coldneſſe in him towards God: hee bids him take heed that hee be not over-homely in his expreſſions, for that would breed a contempt of God: nay he counſels him farther, to pray *as his heart moves him, pro re natâ*, Reade his Βασιλικὸν δῶρον pag 151. 152. Let theſe things be well weighed and conſidered, and then our fierce men will not terme every man a *Browniſt*, who deſires to have that Law abrogated by which *this* Common Prayer booke is eſtabliſhed and enjoyned. I need not adde what the *Arminians* and *Socinians* think of *Liturgies*, onely obſerve, that though the *Arminians* beyond Sea were prevailed with to write ſomething for the *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Archdeacons*, &c. in *England*, yet they write but faintly, *Exam. Cenſuræ. cap.* 21. and they could not be prevailed with to write a word in defence of our *Liturgy*, they will not admit, no not of the moſt received *Creeds*; there is (they ſay) *too much majeſty in them*, they call the Preface to *Athanaſius* his Creed, *Whoſoever will be ſaved muſt hold, &c. a proud Preface*, for *this is* (ſay they) *to give divine Authority to humane Formes, and into the aſſembly of ſuch bold men let not our ſoule*

[f] *Quare nil dubitamus profiteri Athanaſium limitem juris hujus prætergreſſum eſſe, quando Symbolo ſuo ſtolam iſtam præfationi præſcripſit.*

ſoule ever enter: you ſee what they think of humane Formes. *Exam. Cenſuræ Præf.* pag. 6. 7. and laſtly, the *Browniſts* had beene in the right if the *Archbiſhop* of Canterbury could have compaſſed *his Deſigne*, for his project was to root out all that would not comply, which if he had effected, he had made good the *Browniſts* opinion for them, for then there would have beene no true Church of God in England indeed; not a true governing Church, for his government would have beene tyranicall, not a true practiſing Church, the practiſes of his Grace and his adherents are ſufficiently knowne: nor a true teaching Church, as ſhall evidently be demonſtrated in the next Chapter.

Chap. VI.

The Religion ſo violently contended for by the Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury *and his adherents, is not the true pure Proteſtant Religion.*

I Intend not to tranſcribe overmuch out of Biſhop *Mountague*, *Shelford*, *Pocklington*, Dr. *Potter*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, Dr. *Dowe*, Dr. *Heylin*, &c. Their Books are commonly ſold, and I have given a taſte already in the third and fourth Chapters of ſome of theſe Authors; *ex ungue leonem*, as they ſay; there are a great many paſſages collected and publiſhed already by ſeverall men, ſo that I am foreſtalled, and by ſome happily prevented; there is a Booke entituled *Ladenſium αὐτοκατάκρισις* cloſely penned, and never anſwered, in which their Hereſies are filled up by dozens. There will come forth a Booke very ſhortly, in which the *Deſigne* of *Reconciling*, or rather *uniting Rome* and *Canterbury*, (for there was no great quarrell betweene them) will be more fully diſcovered; for theſe reaſons I may well ſhorten my journey. Let any man that deſires ſatisfaction, but peruſe thoſe Bookes which were Printed in *England*

The Canterburians Selfe-Conviction ſhewes;
1. Their avowed Arminianiſme.
2. Their affection to the Pope, and Popery in the groſſe, cap. 3.
3. The Canterburians joyn with Rome in her groſſeſt Idolatries, cap. 4.
4. Their embracing of Popiſh hereſies and groſſeſt errors, cap. 5.
5. Their Superſtitions, cap. 6.
6. The Canterburians embrace the Maſſe it ſelf, cap. 7.
7. Their Maxims of tyranny, cap. 8.
See the third Edition of this Canterb. Self-Conviction, with the large Supplement which containes ſundry very materiall paſſages.

England betweene 1630. and 1639. and compare them with the Harmony of Confeſſions of the Reformed Churches, and then hee may eaſily judge. Mr. *Chillingworth* proves undeniably that the Church of *Rome* is not Infallible, but to what end and purpoſe? why, that *Rome* and *Canterbury* may ſhake hands, the *Pope* may abate ſomething in point of Supremacy, his *Primacy* being grounded upon his *Infallibility*; but if the *Pope*, *Cardinals*, &c. the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* and his adherents were united, the people would be unwilling to part with their *Maſſe*: why for that if they will but yeild thus farre, as to turne their Maſſe into Engliſh, the good men are agreed; for Mr. *Chillingworth* tels the *Papiſts*, that no *Godly Lay man* (*that is, an ignorant Papiſt that is well conceited of the Maſſe*) *who is verily perſwaded that there is neither impiety nor ſuperſtition in the uſe of their Latine Service ſhall be damned as he hopes for being preſent at it*; Excellent Divinity! A ſtrong perſwaſion will turne ſuperſtition and impiety into godlineſſe. Yet he ſaith there is ſome danger as long as the Service is in Latine, becauſe the want of that devotion which the frequent hearing the offices underſtood might happily beget in them, the want of that inſtruction and edification which it might afford them, may very probably hinder the ſalvation of many, which otherwiſe might have beene ſaved; that is, might have beene ſaved if the *Service* had beene in *Engliſh*; this is plaine dealing, the men are likely to agree, the *Maſſe* in Engliſh may beget ſuch devotion, afford ſuch inſtruction and edification, as is ſufficient for ſalvation. Can the Papiſts deſire *fairer quarter*, or a fuller acknowledgement? Is not this doctrine ſufficient to effect *an Accommodation betweene Rome and Canterbury*. I dare ſay all the *Papiſts in England* will *fight* for ſuch a *Proteſtant Religion*. Mr. *Chillingworth* in his Epiſtle Dedicatory gives his Majeſty to underſtand, That the *Papiſts* allow *Proteſtants* as much *charity as Proteſtants allow* them; and therefore ſuch *Proteſtants* and true *Papiſts* will eaſily be reconciled, or indeed are already reconciled. I cannot ſtand to reckon up Mr. *Chillingworths* principles, conſider theſe that follow.

Mr. *Chillingworths* Anſwer to the Preface of Charity Maintained, which is as it were a ſecond Preface, for it followes the Preface joyned with an Anſwer to the Direction to *N. N.* p. 9 Sect. 7.

1. God

The anſwer to the Preface *p.*19.

1. God is not offended with us for not doing what hee knowes we cannot doe. Whiles we are unregenerate God knowes we cannot repent and beleeve; is not God offended with us even then, for our impenitence and unbeleefe? beſides, he conceives that unaffected ignorance joyned with Implicite faith and generall repentance is not damnable.

In the ſame Preface

The ſecond Preface. *p.*19.

2. Mr. *Chillingworth* is verily perſwaded that God will not impute errours to them as ſinnes, who uſe ſuch a meaſure of induſtry in finding truth, as humane prudence and ordinary diſcretion (their abilities, and opportunities, their diſtractions and hinderances, and all other things conſidered) ſhall adviſe them unto, in a matter of ſuch conſequence. Sure God will judge men with more then ordinary diſcretion, and therefore though we may juſtifie our ſelves when our opinions and practiſes are ſcanned by humane prudence, yet God may juſtly condemne us for not attending upon him without diſtraction; Such looſe principles as theſe will nurſe men up in ſecurity and ignorance, or elſe betray them to indifferency in religions, to that * *Arminian Libertiniſme*, which hath been ſo much admired of late dayes, and cryed up as the only way to maintain peace. For if a man poyſoned with this principle be ſeduced by *a Papiſt*, *Arminian*, *Socinian*, he need uſe but ordinary diſcretion, and therefore take but ordinary care to reſiſt the ſeducer: Alas his abilities are not great, his diſtractions not few, and his hinderances many; beſides if he have time to conſider the Arguments propounded, yet hee wants opportunity, and therefore all things conſidered he had as good yeeld as ſtand out, for it is in the eye of humane prudence, a matter of no great conſequence: for Mr. *Chillingworth* ſaith a *Papiſt* may be ſaved, eſpecially if he have the *Maſſe in Engliſh*, and *Socinians* are a company of Chriſtians, which though they are erroneous in *explicating myſteries* and take too great a liberty in *Speculative matters*, yet they explicate and maintaine the Lawes of Chriſt with leſſe indulgence to the fleſh then the *Papiſts*.

* *Vide Vedelium de Arc nu Arminianiſmi*: the foure Profeſſours of *Leyden* in their approbation of that book declare them to be willfully blind who do not ſee that it was the ſcope of the *Arminians* to introduce *Libertiniſme*. *Vt nemo deinceps, qui non ſponte cacutire velit, de eorum ad Libertiniſmi Introductionem Scopo dubitare poſſit Approbatio Facultatis Theologicæ Leydenſis.* Mr. *Chilling* firſt Preface Sect. 29.

3. Mr. *Chillingworth* thinkes it ſufficient to beleeve all thoſe

those bookes of Scripture (to be Gods Word) of whose Authority there was never any doubt made in the Church: hee cannot in reason beleeve the * other bookes so undoubtedly as those books which were never questioned, and he hath the example of Saints in heaven to justify or excuse his doubting, nay his denyall. Sect. 38. There is no necessity of conforming our selves to the judgement of any Church concerning the rest that were never questioned, for that also he urges the Authority of some Saints in Heaven; ancient Fathers, whole Churches by their difference about this point, shewed that they knew no necessity of conforming themselves herein to the judgement of any Church. Sect. 34. and yet of this controversy whether such or such bookes be Canonicall, the Church is to judge. Sect. 35. And the Churches testimony is, though no demonstrative Enforcement, yet an highly probable inducement, and so a sufficient ground of faith. What kind of faith this is like to prove, I know not, which is grounded upon a probable testimony, to which no man need to subscribe or conform.

4. It is enough to beleeve by a kind of Implicite faith, that the Scripture is true in Gods own sense and meaning, though you know not what God meant, if you use such industry as ordinary discretion shall advise for the knowing of Gods meaning, of which I have said enough already; this may suffice for a taste. Dr. *Potter* is very charitable to the *Papists*, because they receive the *Apostles Creed*; but whether they receive it in the *Apostles* sense, is the question. Whether Mr. *Rouse* or Dr. *Potter* hath answered that subtile booke most like a Protestant, let the learned judge. I have said enough of Dr. *Potter* already, I referre the *Reader* to *Ladens.* Αυτοκατάκρισις.

I am even ashamed to repeat what Dr. *Pocklington* hath printed in his Sermon, Sunday no Sabbath, See the first edition. p. 48. 50. We must have *an Altar with a Crosse* upon it, if we will beleeve Dr. *Pocklington*, *Altare Christianum. cap.* 21. *pag.* 143. We may comply with the Jewes in phrase, and other respects. *cap.* 22. *pag.* 147. I hope he doth not mean in *Caspar Barlaus* his sense, or as the *Socinians* mean; he hath

* The book of Esther, Job, Ecclesiastes, the Epistle of James and Jude, the second of Peter, the third of John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the book of the Revelation. We live in a questioning age: & no man knows how soon all the rest may be questioned. You may read more of Mr. *Chillingworths* principles, in a book entitled *Christianity maintained*: the passage about Henry the 8, &c. is too famous to be mentioned. *Nos in diem vivimus, quodcunque nostros animos probabilitate percussit, illud dicimus. Itaque soli sumus liberi, hoc est Sceptici, vide Cicero. Tusc. quæst. lib.* 5. Answer to the Preface. Sect. 26. The Arch-Bishop himselfe is more sound. A Church may hold the fundamentall point Literally —— yet erre damnably in the exposition of it: and this is the Church of Romes case —— it hath in the Exposition both of Creeds & Councels quite changed and lost the sense & meaning of some of them. The Arch-Bishops Relat. pag. 320.

a vain conceit that the *Chriſtian* Church of the *Iewes had Altars*. I hope they did not bow all, to, or towards the *Altar* when they met. *Act.* 15. We muſt if we will beleeve this Dr. agree with the *Iewes* in externall Rites & Ceremonies, p. 147. Give me leave to throw away this book; and Dr. *Kellet* his *Tricenium*. When the *Arch Biſhop of Canterbury* was to aſſigne what errours in Doctrine might give juſt cauſe of ſeparation, he would not adventure to ſet them down in particular, leſt in theſe times of diſcord, he might be thought to open a doore for *Schiſme*; he knew full well that ſome who were countenanced by him had brought in errours enough, which gave juſt cauſe of ſeparation. *Knot* the Jeſuite ſpoke plaine Engliſh to Mr. *Chillingworth*, when he told him that the *Doctrine of the Church of England began to be altered in many things, for which our Progenitours forſooke the Romane Church*. For example, it is ſaid that the *Pope is not Antichriſt*, *Prayer for the dead is allowed*, *Limbus Patrum*, *Pictures*; it is maintained that the *Church hath Authority in determining controverſies of faith*, and to *interpret Scripture*, about *Free-will*, *Predeſtination*, *univerſall grace*; that all our *workes are not ſinnes*, *Merit of good workes Inherent Juſtice*, *Faith alone doth not juſtify*, *Traditions*, *Commandements poſſible to be kept*. *Your thirty nine Articles are patient, nay ambitious of ſome ſenſe in which they may ſeeme Catholique*. *Calviniſme is accounted Hereſy, and little leſſe then treaſon*. *Men in talke uſe willingly the once fearfull names of Prieſts and Altars*. What ſaith Mr. *Chillingworth* to this bold charge? Why, ſome things he excuſes, and grants the reſt. As for the *Popes* not being *Antichriſt*, the lawfulneſſe of ſome kinde of prayers for the dead, the Eſtate of the Fathers ſoules before Chriſts Aſcenſion, Free-will, Predeſtination, univerſall grace, the poſſibility of keeping Gods Commandements, and the uſe of pictures in the Church; theſe are not things fit to be ſtood upon, we muſt not break charity for ſuch matters, theſe points have been anciently diſputed amongſt Proteſtants, if you will beleeve an *Arch-Prieſt Brearley*; and ſo he leaves that point; here is *a faire compaſſe*, *a long rope for a Papiſt*, *Arminian*, *&c. to dance in*. But Mr. *Chillingworth* ſaith

Vide Vedelium de Deo Synagoga. Dr. *Kellet* his *Tricenium*. The Laick muſt truſt in his Prieſt, the Clergyman in his Church. p. 630. The Euchariſt to be adored. p. 637. and received with our hands framed like a Croſſe. 655. Altars adored. p. ——644.

The Arch Biſhop of Cant his Relat. pag. 1, 7.

This is the Proteſtant Religion which the Papiſts fight for, in their fighting dayes.

Behold the Proteſtant Religion which the *Arminians* maintain. Mr. *Chillingworth* might have queſtioned the ſalvation of the Ieſuites as well as of the Dominicans, Anſ. to the Preface. pag. 20. First Preface with an Anſwer to the Directions to *N. N.* Sect. 26.

ſaith the *Proteſtants* have conſtantly maintained, and doe ſtill maintain, that good workes are not properly meritorious, and that faith alone juſtifies; but either this is falſe, or elſe men that are counted Proteſtants have changed their Religion. *Franciſcus de Sancta Clara* wil inform him of the extravagancies of ſome in theſe points, who paſſed for ſuch Proteſtants as *England* hath been guilty of entertaining of late yeares. I have heard it publikely maintained in *Oxford* by Mr. *Wetherеld* of *Queenes Colledge*, that *Bona opera ſunt Cauſa Phyſica Vitæ Æternæ*, he had ſaid before that they were Morall Cauſes, by that he meant Meritorious, but that expreſſion would not content him. It is well known what Dr. *Duncan* maintained at *Cambridge*; what *Shelford* printed there, what Dr. *Dow* and Dr. *Heylin* have ſince maintained, and to their power juſtifyed; you may read their words at large in *Ladenſium* αὐτοκατάκρισις the fifth Chapter.

Mr. *Wetherеld* his Sermon at Saint Maries.

The *Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury* hath given us the reaſon why the Jeſuites refuſed to come to our Churches, (it ſeems he had invited them) ſince they themſelves acknowledge that there is no poſitive errour in our Liturgy, and it is briefly this. *Becauſe though our Liturgy had in it nothing ill, yet it wanted a great deale of that which was good, and was in their Service.* I can now give at leaſt a probable conjecture why his Grace altered the Service-book which he ſent into *Scotland:* why, ſurely to pleaſe the Jeſuites, for he put in ſomething which the Jeſuites counted good, and ſo in his apprehenſion made up the defect.

The Arch Biſhop of Canterbury his Relat. Sect. 35. Punct. 5. p. 307.

A probable conjecture of his Graces Reaſon why he altered the Service-book.

The diff. reoce between the Scotch Liturgy and the Engliſh is exactly ſet down in the Canterburians ſelfe-conviction *p.* 97. to 113.

Mr. *Newcomen* in his learned *Sermon* hath ſhewen at large how punctuall his Grace was in obſerving the Jeſuites inſtructions for the akeration of our Religion. How truth hath been ſold at a low rate, by the higheſt *Prieſts*, is clearely diſcovered by Mr. *Hill* in his accurate Sermon. Revend Dr. *Hakewill* hath ſet forth Dr. *Heylin* to the life, and therefore I will not preſume to adde any thing to his happy obſervations. The *Miniſters Remonſtrance* will give ſufficient light to this point, I hope it will be publiſhed ere long. There is a Book which paſſeth from hand to hand as a pretious manuſcript called *Romano-Catholicus Pacificus*, in which

See M. *Newcomen* his Sermon preached on the fifth of Novemb.

there are many faire offers made for a *Reconciliation* between *Rome* and *Canterbury*, the *Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury* ſhall enjoy the *Cyprian priviledge* and be ſubject to no *Patriarch*, of which you may read at large in the ſupplement of the *Canterburian ſelfe-conviction*, a paſſage well worthy the ſerious conſideration of all Stateſmen. I might make my book ſwell if I ſhould but reckon up the tithe of *Biſhop Mountague* his *Popiſh* expreſſions, and therefore I leave men to peruſe his writings, there are few points of *Popery* which you may not find in his bookes or in his *Articles at* viſitation; It ſeemes our guides were gone ſo farre that the *Papiſts* thought they might accept of all Propoſitions of Accommodation which were tendered to them by our gentle Reconcilers.

Dr. *Featley* hath excellently diſcovered what a good opinion the *Romaniſts* conceive of ſome who profeſſe themſelves members of the Church of *England*; *Proteſtants* are now counted *Heretiques* no longer, if you will ſpeak properly and ſtrictly, ſaith that *Popiſh Prieſt*, and therefore ſure *Proteſtantiſme is waxed weary of it ſelfe*, as *Knot* ſpeaks; you may well know what *Proteſtants* this *Vertumnus* meanes, ſuch as have been cited in this ſixth Chapter: Concerning the book called *Jeſuitica Negotiatio*, the *Miniſters* have ſaid enough already. I admire at the impudence of divers men who have thus freely expreſſed themſelves for the encouragement of the *Arminian*, *Socinian* and *Popiſh party*, and yet are not aſhamed to ſay that they ſtand for the *Proteſtant religion*. I have ſeen a letter under Mr. *Chillingworths* own hand in which he doth excite Dr. *Sheldon of All-ſoules*, and *Dean Potter*, *&c.* to ſtand in *defiance of the Parliament*, and adviſes them to *ſtir up the youth* (*the young laddes of the Univerſity* as he calls them) to *oppoſe the Parliament*; Now can I or any man beleeve that Mr. *Chillingworth* doth intend to maintaine *Calviniſme*, I mean pure *Proteſtant Religion*? I appeale to the conſcience of * Dr. *Sheldon* whether he hath not reſerved more charity for an Infidel then a *Calviniſt*? he hath expreſſed himſelfe very ſlily in his Sermons, and yet plainly enough to intelligent Auditours, but I will take the counſell of

The large ſupplement of the Canterburian ſelfe-conviction pag. 19, 20. Biſhop *Mountague* ſaith that the ſigne of the croſſe is the Inſtrument of divine power and ſufficient to drive away Devills, it is to be made in the breaſt or forehead, &c. *Orig. Eccleſ. Tom. prioris parte poſter. pag* 80. Scripture and Reaſon, &c. Set forth by divers Miniſters. The book called *Ieſuitica Negotiatio* gave Ieſuited perſons leave to profeſſe the Proteſtant religion, to keep any office, to paſſe ſentence of death upon any perſon according to his office, ſo he was as favourable as poſſible, and gave timely intelligence of any levere ſentence. pag. 74.

Juſt like the Ieſuite Dr *Potter* ſpeaks of, who hoped well of honeſt Pagans, & raſhly dined the beſt part of Chriſtians. *Sect. 2. p.* 45. I ſay nothing of Dr. *Sheldon* his Latine Sermon in which he did highly advance the Power of the Prieſt.

of his Text, and judge nothing before the time I remember his obſervations upon that Text, *Good Maſter what ſhall I doe that I may inherit eternall life?* it is not, ſaith he, *what ſhall I beleeve*, as the *Calviniſts* would have it, (or to that effect) but *what ſhall I doe?* Sure the *good* Dr. forgot the Jaylours queſtion, *What ſhall I doe to be ſaved?* and the Apoſtles anſwer, *Beleeve, &c.* Is this the *Calviniſme* he jerkes at? *Knot* I beleeve had ſome ground to ſay that the infection was ſo generall that it had overſpread *All Soules.* I would there had been no need of ſuch diſcoveries, but ſince things are grown to this paſſe, it is folly to complement, we are compelled to ſpeak *Plain Engliſh* in *Sober Sadneſſe.* If our faith will be loſt except it be kept by a controverſy, it is an act both of faith and love for Orthodoxe men to undertake the controverſy.

Dr. *Potter* doth acknowledge the *Church of Rome to be a member of the Church univerſall, and ſaith the Church of England hath a true and reall union ſtill with that Church in Faith and Charity*: nay *pag.76. We doe not forſake the Communion of the Church of Rome any more then we forſake the Body of Chriſt, whereof we acknowledge the Church of Rome a member though* * *corrupted.* But it ſeems in 8. or 9. yeares Dr. *Potter* had altered his opinion, for in his Sermon preached at the Conſecration of the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, in the yeare 1628. I find theſe words; [I am confident were the Fathers now alive they would all ſide with us in our neceſſary ſeparation from the abominations, idolatry and tyranny of the papacy, with which no good Chriſtian can hold any union in faith, any communion in Charity.] *p.64,65.* The learned and reverend *Biſhop Davenant* did maintain that the Church of *Rome* was *Apoſtaticall* in his *ſad determination*; if it be *Apoſtatized* from faith as *Biſhop Davenant* ſaith, and hath no more charity then *Dean Potter* ſaith it hath, how can we (eſpecially ſince our ſeparation from *Rome*) be ſaid to have a true and reall union with it ſtill in Faith and Charity? It is in vaine for him now to diſtinguiſh between the *Church of Rome*, and *the Court of Rome*, though there was once ground for that diſtinction, for *Rome is all Court now*; if he will have me uſe

Dr *Potter* 2 *edit. ſect.*3. *pag.*68.

* *Impuritas non in dogmatibus fidei reperitur, ſed vel in concluſionibus minus certis, vel in ritibus; aliquâ ſi impuritas ipſum cor & medullam occupet, altum eſſe de tali eccleſia omnes Orthodoxi cenſent. Profeſſ. Leyd. Cenſur. Præfat. Remonſt Præfix. confeſſ. ſect.*23.

That proud and curſt Dame of Rome, &c. ſaith Dr. *Potter p.*11. She doth poyſon her own children, gives them ſerpents inſtead of fiſhes. p.14. their charity is contrary to the true nature of charity. p 16 they have more Charity for a Jew and a Turk then a Calviniſt. p.17. we are perſecuted with fire & ſword and curſed into eternall fire by the Romane Charity, as Dr. *Potter* ſaith. p.13

Charrons ſimilitude, the *Church is the apple*, and the *Court the worme*, the *worme hath eaten up the apple*, *the Court hath devoured the Church*; we diſtinguiſh between Fundamentalls and ſuperſtructions, and ſome talke as if the Papiſts were ſound in Fundamentalls, but the caſe is cleare that they have overthrown the old foundation, and all their ſuperſtructions are upon a new foundation, or upon no foundation at all. For if their Churches authority be the foundation of all their faith, and their Churches Authority be built laſtly and wholly upon Prudentiall motives; as Mr. *Chillingworth* ſhewes, *cap.*2.*pag.*64. *Sect.*35. then ſure here is a new Foundation, or elſe their Church is a Caſtle in the ayre, a Church without foundations. I dare appeale to Maſter *Chillingworth* whether the Papiſts doe not erre groſſely (and therefore Fundamentally) in thoſe things which belong to the covenant between God and man in Chriſt? See whether my inference be not grounded on his Aſſertion. pag. 17, the anſwer to the Preface, Sect. 26. Dr. *Potter* tells us * that their errours and practiſes for which they have been forſaken of *Proteſtants* are not damnable in themſelves to men who beleeve as they profeſſe; but the *Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury* is more *Orthodoxe*, or elſe the man that gave him this note was more *Orthodoxe*, (for doubtleſſe the materialls of that faire fabrick were brought in by men of different religions, the principles are ſo croſſe) he ſaith that *errour in points not Fundamentall may be damnable to ſome men, though they hold it not againſt their conſcience*, Sect.37. *Numb.* 6.*pag.* 320. Dr. *Potter* and ſome others have a fancy of reſting in the profeſſion of ſuch truths as all *Chriſtians* in the whole world agree upon. Maſter *Chillingworth* will put in the *Socinians* for a company of *Chriſtians*; I hope Dr. *Potter* will not joyn with him; but the *Arch-Biſhop* diſlikes this plot, as it comes from *A.C.* or at leaſt ſhewes the danger of it, and would be better adviſed in this point. He ſaith he doth not think it ſafeſt in a controverted point of faith to beleeve that only which the diſſenting parties agree upon, or which the adverſe party confeſſes; the *Arch-Biſhop* inſtances in the Doctrine between the *Orthodoxe* and the *Arian*; if that rule be

*Read the cenſure of Reverend Dr. *Twiſſe* upon this paſſage of *Dr. Potter* in his treatiſe of the morality of the fourth Commandement. p.33.34. *Damnable in themſelves* is in both editions, only corrected in the Errata of the ſecond edition, *damnable in their iſſue*. D. *Twiſſe* gives the reaſon.

See Dr *Potter* addition p.251, 253. We ſhall find that in thoſe Propoſitions which without all controverſy are univerſally received in the whole chriſtian world, ſo much truth is contained as being joyned with holy obedience may be ſufficient to bring a man to everlaſting ſalvation. p.255.

be true which was mentioned before, then ſaith he 'tis ſafeſt for a Chriſtian to beleeve that Chriſt is of like nature with God the Father, and be free from beleefe, that he is Conſubſtantiall with him, &c. His ſecond inſtance is about the Reſurrection. His third about the unity of the Godhead; if we will reſt in the acknowledgement of one God (he meanes, and not confeſſe the Trinity of Perſons in the unity of the Godhead, for his Grace hath not framed his argument right) then *Iewes*, *Turkes* and *Socinians* will be as *good Chriſtians* as we are. The fourth inſtance is about the verity of Chriſts *Godhead.* The *Arch-biſhops Relat.* p. 309, 310, &c. You ſee whither this charitable principle would lead us, we muſt take in the *Socinian* firſt, as a *Chriſtian*, and then we may turn *Turkes* with credit. I will conclude all with a part of Dr. *Potters* prayer; The *Lord* take out of his Church all diſſention and diſcord, all Hereſies, and Schiſmes, all Abuſes and falſe doctrines, all Idolatry, Superſtition and tyranny, and unite all Chriſtians in one holy band of truth and Peace, that ſo with one minde and one mouth we may all joyne in his ſervice, and for ever glorify the holy name of the moſt holy and glorious Trinity. *Amen. Amen. Amen.*

The *Arminians* ſay no man is an Heretike who denies a point which is, or may be controverted, and ſo they may deny the whole creed. *De hæreticis quæritur, non qui ea quæ in ſcripturis aperte deciſa ſunt convellere audent, ſed qui ea quæ controverſa ſunt, aut controverti poſſunt in dubium vocant Exam. Cenſ. cap. 24 p. 276.* The Arch-Biſhop of Cant. his Relat. pag. 309, 310. Dr. *Potter* his Prayer.

The Printer to the Reader.

The Author being called from London to a buſineſſe of higher concernment could not overſee the Preſſe, but ſome few ſheets being ſent to him, he returned ſome brief Corrections which he hath deſired me to communicate that the Reader might blot out thoſe things which are redundant, and rectify ſuch miſtakes as alter the ſenſe of the Author. Be pleaſed to take ſpeciall notice of theſe that follow. S. G.

Errata.

In *Pag.* 2. *lin.* 6. *r.* he will not confeſſe that they *pag.* 3. *l.* 19. *dele* (if Smalcius be Judge) in *pag.* 3. *l.* 6. *marg. dele* [Socinian] in *pag.* 6. *l.* 18. *r.* [with him] but conſider that Samoſatenus *p.* 10. *l.* 20. *dele* [they] *p.* 27. *l.* 7. *r.* but the cauſe of the quarrell is that the Churches *p.* 28. *l. penult. r.* without the word. *p.* 33. *l. ult. r.* let them read my anſwer to Mr. *Webberley.* *p.* 37. *l.* 7. *dele* therefore. *p.* 38. *l.* 10. *r.* iſtis quos ignorare.

15

A

TREATISE OF MONARCHIE,

Containing two Parts:

1. Concerning Monarchy in generall.
2. Concerning this particular Monarchy.

Wherein all the maine Queſtions occurrent in both, are ſtated, diſputed, and determined:

And in the cloſe, the Contention now in being, is moderately debated, and the readieſt meanes of Reconcilement propoſed.

Done by an earneſt Deſirer of his Countries Peace.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Bellamy*, and *Ralph Smith*, and are to be ſold at the three golden Lions in Corn-hill.
Anno Dom. 1643. May. 24.

THE PREFACE:

I Write not this Diſcourſe to foment or heighten the wofull diſſention of the Kingdome; but if poſsible to cure, or at leaſt to allay it: That former too many have done already, this latter, much too few.

When a Patient lies ſicke under the deſtroying paroxiſmes of a Fever, every ſtander-by will be telling his Medicine, though he be no Phyſitian: O then let no Sonne of this State account it preſumption in me, for putting in my judgement, and ſpeaking that which I conceive might, if not remove, yet mitigate this fatall diſtemperature of our common Mother: at another time perhaps it might be cenſurable, but in this exigence laudable.

Something I was full of, which I conceited might doe good; here I have produced it. And now if any man can finde a better way to appeaſement, for the ſake of peace let him ſpeedily declare it.

I intend not theſe enſuing Diſputes to any high-flowne judgements, who looke downe on all mens, but their owne, to cenſure, not to be informed; nor

to any which hath deſignes of his owne, which on the opportunity of this Diviſion hee meanes to follow; nor to any who is already poſſeſſed by an opinion, which hee reſolves to make good: But to the calme and impartiall ſpirit of every judicious, peacefull man; Let him weigh my Aſſertions by my grounds on which I build them, and if he find them any where unſound, let him ſhew mee in what, and I will gladly and thankfully reforme my errour: For as I love not obſtinacy in groundleſſe opinions in others, ſo I would avoid it in my ſelfe.

I have not annexed my *Name*, not that I am aſhamed to owne what I conceive to be the truth; but becauſe I know who I am, and that my Name could adde no eſtimation to the Treatiſe: Nor do I deſire it ſhould: They who ſearch for Truth muſt regard *Things*, not *Perſons*: Give me therefore the now *common Liberty* to goe nameleſſe; many have taken it for worſe ends. If any condemn me for any thing here, it muſt be for endevouring a thankleſſe Moderation 'twixt two Extremes. But I will detaine you no longer at the doore.

THE

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A TREA-

A TREATISE OF MONARCHIE.

PART. I. CAP. I.

Of Politicall Government, and its Diſtinction into ſeverall Kinds.

GOvernment and Subjection are Relatives, ſo that what is ſaid of the One, may in proportion be ſaid of the other: Which being ſo, it will be needleſſe to treat of both: becauſe it will be eaſie to apply what is ſpoken of one to the other. Government is *Poteſtatis Exercitium*, the exerciſe of a Morall Power. One of theſe is the Root and Meaſure of the other; which if it exceed, is exorbitant, is not Government, but a Tranſgreſſion of it. This Power and Government is differenced with reſpect to the Governed, to wit, a Family, which is called *Oeconomicall*: or a publike ſociety, which is called *Politicall*, or Magiſtracie. Concerning this Magiſtracie we will treat 1. in generall. Sect. 1.

2. Of the principall kind of it.

In generall concerning Magiſtracie, There are two things about which I find difficultie and difference, *viz.* the Originall and the End.

Authority, how farre from God, how farre from Men.

Firſt for the Originall: There ſeem to be two extremes in Opinion; while ſome amplifie the Divinitie therof: Others ſpeak ſo ſlightly of it, as if there were little els but Humane Inſtitution in it. I will briefly lay down my apprehenſions of the evident truth in this point: and it may be, things being clearly and diſtinctly ſet down, there will be no reall ground for contrariety in this matter. Three things herein muſt neceſſarily be diſtinguiſhed *viz.* 1. The Conſtitution of Power of Magiſtracie in generall. 2. The Limitation of it to this or that kind. 3. The Determination of it to this or that Individuall Perſon or Line.

For the firſt of theſe, 1. It is Gods expreſſe Ordinance that in the ſocieties of Mankind, there ſhould be a Magiſtracie or Government. At firſt when there were but two, God ordeyned it, *Gen.* 3. 16. S^t. *Paul* affirmes as much of the Powers that be, none excepted, *Rom.* 13 1. 2 This Power where ever placed ought to be reſpected as a participation of divine Soveraignty, *Pſal.* 82. 1. 6. and every ſoule ought to be ſubject to it for the *Lords ſake* 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. that is, for conſcience ſake of Gods Ordinance, *Rom.* 13. 5. and under penaltie of Damnation, *v.* 2. Theſe are Truths againſt which there is no colour of oppoſition. Indeed this Power may be claymed by them who have it not; and where there is a limitation of this Power, ſubjection may be claymed in caſes which are without thoſe limits: But to this Ordinance of Power where it is, and when it requires ſubjection, it muſt be given; as before.

For the ſecond. 1. In ſome particular communities the Limitation of it to this or that kind is an immediate Ordinance of God: ſo Kingly Power was appointed to the Jewes on their deſire, 1 *Sam.* 8. 9. whether they had not a kind of Monarchicall Government before, I will not ſtand on it: but it is evident that then, on their earneſt deſire God himſelfe condeſcended to an eſtabliſhment of Regalitie in that

ſtate

ſtate. 2. But for a generall binding Ordinance, God hath given no word, either to command or commend one kind above another: Men may according to their Relations to the forme they live under, to their affections and judgements in divers reſpects, preferre this or that form above the reſt; but we have no divine limitation: and it were an abſurditie to think ſo; for then we ſhould uncharitably condemne all the Communities which have not that form for violation of Gods Ordinance and pronounce thoſe other Powers unlawfull. 3. This then muſt have another and lower fountain to flow from, which can be no other then Humane. The higher Power is Gods Ordinance: That it reſideth in One, or more; in ſuch or ſuch a way is from humane deſignment: for when God leaves a matter indifferent, the reſtriction of this indifferencie is left to ſecondary cauſes. And I conceive this is S. *Peters* meaning, when he calls Magiſtracie *ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις*, Humane Creature; S. *Paul* calls it *Gods Ordinance*, becauſe the Power is *Gods*: S. *Peter* calls it humane Ordinance, becauſe the ſpecification of it to this or that form, is from the ſocieties of Mankind. I confeſſe it may be called a humane Creature, in regard of its ſubject, which is a Man, or Men: or its End which is to rule over Men for the good of Men; but the other ſeems more naturall: and it induces no diſparagement to Authority, being ſo underſtood. But however you take that place, yet the thing affirmed ſtands good, that God by no word binds any people to this or that form, till they by their own Act bind themſelves.

For the third: the ſame is to be ſaid of it, as of the ſecond: ſome particular men we find whom God was pleaſed by his own immediate choiſe to inveſt with this his Ordinance of Authority: *Moſes*, *Saul*, *David*, yea God by his immediate Ordinance determined the Government of that people to *David* poſteritie and made it ſucceſſive; ſo that that People, after his appointment and word was made known to them, and the room voyd by *Sauls* death, was as immediately bound by divine Law to have *David*, and his Sonnes after him to be Magiſtrates, as to Magiſtracie it ſelfe. But God hath not done ſo for every people: *aſcriptum eſt* cannot be alledged for

the endowing this or that perſon or ſtock with Soveraignty over a community: They alone had the priviledge of an extraordinary Word. All others have the ordinary and mediate hand of God to enthrone them: They attaine this determination of Authority to their Perſons by the tacite and virtuall, or elſe expreſſe and formall conſent of that Society of men they governe, either in their owne perſons, or the root of their ſucceſsion, as I doubt not, in the ſequele it will be made appeare. But let no man thinke that it is any leſſening or weakning of Gods Ordinance in them, to teach that it is annexed to their Perſons by a humane Meane: for though it be not ſo full a title to come to it by the ſimple Providence of God, as by the expreſſe Precept of God: yet when by the diſpoſing hand of Gods Providence a Right is conveyed to a perſon or family, by the meanes of a publique Fundamentall Oath, Contract and Agreement of a State, it is equivalent then to a Divine Word; and within the bounds of that publique Agreement the conveyed Power is as *Obligatory*, as if an immediate word had deſigned it. Thus it appears that they which ſay there is *divinum quiddam* in Soveraignes, and that they have their power from God, ſpeake in ſome ſence truth; As alſo they which ſay that originally Power is in the People, may in a ſound ſence be underſtood. And in theſe things we have Dr. *Ferns* conſent in his late diſcourſe upon this ſubject. *Sect.* 3.

Sect. 2. *Whether the end of Government be the peoples good?*

For the end of Magiſtracie; to ſet out that is no hard matter, if we conſider what was looked at when God ordeyned it. That was the Good of the ſociety of men over which it is ſet: So Saint *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 4. εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν. God aymed at it in the Inſtitution of Government: and ſo do all men in the choice of it, where they may be chooſers: ſuch a Government, and ſuch perſons to ſway it, as may moſt conduce to publique Weale. Alſo it is the meaſure of all the Acts of the Governour: and he is good or bad according as he uſes his Power to the good of the State wherewith he is intruſted. That is the end: but not the ſole end; The preſervation of the Power and Honour of the Governour is

is an end too: but I thinke not co-ordinate, but ſubordinate to the other: becauſe doubtles in the Conſtitution of Government, that is firſt thought on, and this in congruity to that; Alſo the reaſon why the Power and Honour of the Magiſtrate muſt be preſerved, is for the publique ſocieties ſake, becauſe its welfare depends thereon: And it is fall out that one of them muſt ſuffer: every good Magiſtrate will deſcend ſomething from his greatnes, be it for the good of the Community: On the other ſide, though every ſubject ought for the honour and good of the Magiſtrate to give up his private; yet none ought to advance the greatnes of his Soveraign with the publique detriment. Whence in my apprehenſion the end of Magiſtracie is the good of the whole Body, Head, and Members conjunctly: but if we ſpeak *diviſim*, then the good of the Society is the Ultime end: and next to that, as conducent to that, the Governours Greatnes and Prerogative. And herein alſo accordeth Dr. *Fern* with us. *Sect.* 3. Where he ſayes, That the people are the end of the governing Power. There is another queſtion of mainer concernment, here in our generall diſcourſe of Authority fitly to be handled. *viz.* How farre ſubjection is due to it? but becauſe it hath a great dependance on the kinds and States of Power, and cannot be ſo well conceived without the Precognition thereof: I will referre it to after opportunities.

For the diviſion of this Power of Magiſtracie: It cannot be well divided into ſeveral ſpecies; for it is one ſimple thing an indiviſible beame of Divine Perfection; yet for our more diſtinct conceaving thereof, Men have framed ſeverall diſtinctions of it. So with reſpect of its meaſure, it is abſolute or limited: In reſpect of its manner, It is, as St. *Peter* divides it, Supreame, or Subordinate. In reſpect of its Meane of acquiring, it is Elective, or ſucceſsive; for I conceive that of Conqueſt, and Preſcription of uſuage are reducible to one of theſe, as will appeare afterwards. In reſpect of its degrees it is *Nomothetically* or *Architectonicall* and *Gubernative* or *Executive*. And in reſpect of the ſubject of its reſidence there is an ancient and uſuall diſtinction of it into *Monarchicall, Ariſtocra-*

Sect. 3. *Diviſion of Magiſtracie.*

ſtocraticall and *Democraticall*. Theſe either ſimple or mixt of two, or all three together, of which the *Predominant* gives the denomination. Theſe are not *accurate ſpecificative*, Diviſions of Power, for it admits none ſuch, but partitions of it according to divers reſpects. The courſe of my intention directs me to ſpeak only of *Monarchicall* Power, which is the chiefe and moſt uſuall forme of Government in the world; The other two being apt to reſolve into this, but this not ſo apt to diſſolve into them.

CHAP. II.

Of the Diviſion of Monarchy into abſolute and limited.

Sect. 1. NOW we muſt know that moſt of thoſe diſtinctions which were applyed to Power in generall are appliable to Monarchy: becauſe the reſpects on which they ariſe are to be found in it. But I will inſiſt on the three main diviſions: for the handling of them will bring us to a cleare underſtanding of what is needfull to be known about *Monarchicall* Power.

First, of the diſtinction of *Monarchy* into Abſolute and Limited. Abſolute *Monarchy* is when the Soveraignty is ſo fully in one, that it hath no Limits or Bounds under God, but his owne Will. It is when a people are abſolutely reſigned up or reſigne up themſelves to be governed by the will of one man. Such were the ancient *Eaſterne Monarchies*, and that of the *Perſian* and *Turke* at this day, as farre as we know. This is a lawfull Government and therefore where men put themſelves into this utmoſt degree of ſubjection by *Oath* and Contract, or are borne and brought unto it by Gods Providence it binds them and they muſt abide it: becauſe an *Oath* to a lawfull thing is *Obligatory*. This in Scripture is very evident: as *Ezek.* 17. 16. 18. 19. Where Iudgement is denounced againſt the King of *Iudah* for breaking the Oath made to

Whether abſolute Monarchy be a lawfull government.

the

the King of *Babylon*; and it is called Gods Oath, yet doubtles this was an Oath of abſolute ſubjection. And *Rom.* 13. the power which then was, was abſolute; yet the Apoſtle not excluding it, calls it *Gods ordinance*, and commands ſubjection to it: ſo Chriſt commands tribute to be paid, and payes it himſelfe; yet it was an arbitrary taxe, the production of an abſolute power. Alſo the ſoveraignty of maſters over ſervants was abſolute, and the ſame in Oeconomy as abſolute Monarchy is in policie, yet the Apoſtle enjoynes not maſters called to Chriſtianity to renounce that title as too great and rigid to be kept but exhorts them to moderation in the exerciſe of it; and ſervants to remaine contented in the condition of their ſervitude. More might be ſaid to legitimate this kinde of governement, but it needs not in ſo plaine a caſe.

This abſolute Monarchy hath three degrees, yet all within the ſtate of abſoluteneſſe. The firſt, when the Monarch, whoſe will is the peoples Law, doth ſet himſelfe no ſtated Rule or Law to rule by, but by immediate Edicts and commands of his owne will governes them, as in his owne and Councels judgement he thinks fit. Secondly, when he ſets downe a Rule and Law by which he will ordinarily govern, reſerving to himſelfe liberty to vary from it, wherein, and as oft as in his diſcretion he judges fit: and in this the Soveraigne is as free as the former, onely the people are at a more certainty what he expects from them in ordinary. Thirdly, when he not onely ſets downe an expreſſe Rule and Law to governe by, but alſo promiſeth and engages himſelf in many caſes not to alter that rule: but this engagement is an after condeſcent and act of grace, not diſſolving the abſolute oath of ſubiection, which went before it, nor is intended to be the rule of his power, but of the exerciſe of it. This Ruler is not ſo abſolute as the former in the uſe of his power, for he hath put a bond on that, which he cannot breake without breach of promiſe; that is, without ſin: but he is as abſolute in his power, if he will ſinfully put it forth into act, it hath no politick bounds, for the people ſtill owe him abſolute ſubiection, Sect. 2. *Three degrees of abſoluteneſſe.*

ſubiection, that not being diſſolved or leſſened by an act of grace comming afterwards.

Sect. 3. *Wheth r reſiſtance be lawfull in abſolute Monarchy.*

Now in governments of this nature, How far obedience is due, and, Whether any reſiſtance be lawfull, is a queſtion which here muſt be decided. For the due effecting whereof, we muſt premiſe ſome needfull diſtinctions to avoid confuſion. Obedience is twofold; firſt, Poſitive and active, when in conſcience of an authority we doe the thing commanded: ſecondly, Negative and paſſive, when though we anſwer not Authority by doing, yet we doe it by contented undergoing the penalty impoſed. Proportionably reſiſtance is twofold: firſt, Poſitive, by an oppoſing of force: ſecondly, Negative, when onely ſo much is done as may defend our ſelves from force, without returne of force againſt the Aſſailant. Now this negative reſiſtance is alſo twofold: firſt, In inferiour and ſufferable caſes: ſecondly, or in the ſupreme caſe and laſt neceſſity of life and death: and then too it is firſt, either of particular perſon or perſons; ſecondly, or of the whole community. And if of particular perſons, then either under plea and pretence of equity aſſaulted; or elſe without any plea at all, meerly for will and pleaſure ſake: for to that degree of rage and cruelty ſometimes the heart of man is given over. All theſe are very diſtinguiſhable caſes, and will be of uſe either in this or the enſuing diſputes.

Aſſert. 1. To the queſtion I ſay, Firſt, Poſitive obedience is abſolutely due to the will and pleaſure of an abſolute Monarch, in all lawfull and indifferent things: becauſe in ſuch a State the will of the Prince is the ſupreme Law, ſo that it binds to obedience in every thing not prohibited by a ſuperiour, that is, Divine Law: for it is in ſuch caſe the higher power, and is Gods ordinance.

Aſſert. 2. Secondly, When the will of an abſolute Monarch commands a thing forbidden to be done by Gods Law, then it bindes not to active obedience; then is the Apoſtles rule undoubtedly true, *It is better to obey God then men*: For the Law of the inferiour gives place to the ſuperiour. In things defined by God, it ſhould be all one with us for the Magiſtrate to

to command us to transgresse that, as to command us an impossibility; and impossibilities fall under no Law. But on this ground no man must quarrell with Authoritie, or reject its commands as unlawfull, unlesse there be an open unlawfulnesse in the face of the act commanded. For if the unlawfulnesse be hidden in the ground or reason of the action, inferiours must not be curious to enquire into the grounds or reasons of the commands of superiours; for such licence of enquiry would often frustrate great undertakings, which much depend on speed and secrecy of execution. I speak all this of absolute government, where the will and reason of the Monarch is made the higher power, and its expression the supreme Law of a State.

Thirdly, suppose an absolute Monarch should so degene- Assert. 3.
rate into Monstrous unnaturall Tyranny, as apparently to seeke the destruction of the whole community, subject to him in the lowest degree of vassallage, then such a community may negatively resist such subversion: yea, and if constrained to it by the last necessity, positively resist and defend themselves by force against any instruments whatsoever, imployed for the effecting thereof. 1. *David* did so in his particular case, when pursued by *Saul*: he made negative resistence by flight, and doubtlesse he intended positive resistence against any instrument, if the negative would not have served the turne: else why did he so strengthen himselfe by Forces? sure not to make positive resistance, and lay violent hands upon the Person of the Lords Anointed, as it appeared; yet for some reason he did it doubtlesse, which could be none other, but by that force of Armes to defend himselfe against the violence of any mis-imployed inferiour hands. If then he might doe it for his particular safety, much rather may it be done for the publike. 2. Such an act is without the compasse of any the most absolute Potentate; and therefore to resist in it, can be to resist no power, nor the violation of any due of subjection. For, first, the most submisse subjection ever intended by any community, when they put themselves under anothers power, was the command of a reasonable will and power; but to will and command the destruction of

the whole body over which a power is placed, were an act of will most unreasonable and self-destructive, and so not the act of such a will, to which subjection was intended by any reasonable creatures. Secondly, the publike good and being is aimed at in the utmost bond of subjection; for in the constitution of such unlimited soveraignty, though every particular mans good and being is subjected to the will of One supreme, yet certainly the conservation of the whole Publike was intended by it; which being invaded, the intent of the constitution is overthrowne, and an act is done which can be supposed to be within the compasse of no politicall power: So that did *Nero* as it was reported of him in his immanity thirst for the destruction of whole *Rome*; and if he were truly what the Senate pronounced him to be, *Humani generis hostis*, then it might justifie a negative resistance of his person; and a positive, of any Agent should be set on so inhumane a service. And the united Provinces are allowed in resisting *Philip* 2^d. though he had bin their absolute Monarch, if he resolved the extirpation of the whole people, and the planting the countrey with *Spaniards*, as it is reported he did. And that assertion of some, that *All* resistance is against the Apostles prohibition. Resistance by power of Armes is utterly unlawfull, cannot be justified in such a latitude. But of this more will be spoken in the current of this discourse.

Assert. 4. Fourthly, suppose by such a power any particular person or persons life be invaded, without any plea of reason or cause for it, I suppose it hard to deny him liberty of negative resistance of power; yea, and positive, of any Agents, in such assault of murther: for though the case be not so cleare as the former yet it seemes to me justified by the fact of *David*, and the rescuing of *Jonathan* from the causelesse cruell intent of his Fathers putting him to death. As also such an act of will carrying no colour of reason with it, cannot be esteemed the act of a rationall will, and so no will intended to be the Law of Soveraignty. Not that I thinke a Monarch of such absoluteneſſe is bound to yeeld a reason why he commands any man to be put to death, before his command be obeyed; but I conceive the person so commanded to death

death may bee justified before God and men for protecting himselfe by escape, or otherwise, unlesse some reason or cause bee made knowne to him of such command.

Fifthly, Persons subject to an unlimited dominion must without resistance subject their Estates, Liberties, Persons, to the will and pleasure of their Lord, so it carry any plea or shew of reason and equity. First, it seemes to me evident, 1 *Pet.* 2 18, 19 20. if well doing be mistaken by the reason and judgement of the power for ill doing, and we be punished for it, yet the Magistrate going according to his misguided reason it is the command of a reasonable will, and so to be submitted to, because such a one suffers by Law, in a State where the Lords will is the Law. Secondly, In commands of the power where is the plea of reason and equity on the part of the commander, whether it be such indeed, some power must judge, but the constitution of absolute Monarchy resolves all judgement into the will of the Monarch, as the supreme Law: so that if his will judicially censure it just, it must be yeelded to as if it were just without repeale or redressement by any created power. And let none complaine of this as a hard condition, when they or their Ancestors have subjected themselves to such a power by oath, or politicall contract: If it be Gods ordinance to such, it must be subjected to and its exorbitances born, as he sayes in *Tacitus*, as men beare famine, pestilence, and other effects of Gods displeasure. Assert. 5.

Sixthly in absolute Monarchy the person of the Monarch is above the reach of just force and positive resistance: for such a full resignation of mens selves to his will and power, by the irrevocable oath and bond of politicall contract, doth make the person as sacred as the unction of *Saul* or *David*. In such a State all lawful power is below him, so that he is uncapable of any penall hand, which must be from a superiour, or it is uniust. I have bin the longer on this absolute Monarchy, because though it doth not concerne us, yet it will give light to the stating of doubts in governments of a more restrained nature: for what is true here in the full ex- Assert. 6.

tent of power, is there alſo as true within the compaſſe of their power.

Sect. 4. What makes a Monarchy limited?

In moderate or limited Monarchy it is an enquiry of ſome weight to know, *What it is which conſtitutes it in the ſtate of a limited Monarchy.*

Aſſert. 1.

Firſt, A Monarchy may be ſtinted in the exerciſe of its power, and yet be an abſolute Monarchy, as appeared before in our diſtinction of abſolute Monarchy: If that bounds be a ſubſequent act, and proceeding from free will and grace in the Monarch; for it is not the exerciſe, but the nature and meaſure of power, wherewith he is radically inveſted, which denominates him a free, or conditionate Monarch.

Aſſert. 2.

Secondly, I take it, that a limited Monarch muſt have his bounds of power *ab externo*, not from the free determination of his owne will. And now Kings have not divine words and binding Lawes to conſtitute them in their Soveraignty, but derive it from ordinary providence, the ſole meane hereof is the conſent and fundamentall contract of a Nation of men, which conſent puts them in their power, which can be no more nor other then is conveyed to them by ſuch contract of ſubiection. This is the root of all ſoveraignty individuated and exiſtent in this or that perſon or family; till this come and lift him up he is a private man, not differing in ſtate from the reſt of his brethren; but then he becomes another man, his perſon is ſacred by that ſoveraignty conveyed to it, which is Gods ordinance and image. The truth hereof will be more fully diſcovered, when we come to ſpeake of Elective and Succeſſive Monarchy.

Aſſert. 3.

Thirdly He is then a limited Monarch, who hath a Law beſide his owne will for the meaſure of his power. Firſt, the ſupreme power of the State muſt be in him, ſo that his power muſt not be limited by any power above his; for then hee were not a Monarch, but a ſubordinate magiſtrate. Secondly, this ſupreme power muſt be reſtrained by ſome Law, according to which this power was given, and by direction of which this power muſt act; elſe he were not a limited Monarch, that is, a liege Soveraigne, or legall King. Now a Soveraignty

veraignty comes thus to be legall, or defined to a rule of Law, either by originall conſtitution, or by after-condeſcent. By originall conſtitution, when the ſociety publike conferres on one man a power by limited contract, reſigning themſelves to his government by ſuch a Law, reſerving to themſelves ſuch immunities: In this caſe, they which at firſt had power over themſelves, had power to ſet their owne termes of ſubiection; and hee which hath no title of power over them but by their act, can *de jure* have no greater then what is put over to him by that act By after-condeſcent, *viz.* when a Lord, who by conqueſt, or other right, hath an abſolute arbitrary power; but not liking to hold by ſuch a right, doth either formally or virtually deſert it, and take a new legall right as judging it more ſafe for him to hold by, and deſirable of the people to be governed by. This is equivalent to that by originall conſtitution; yea, is all one with it: for this is in that reſpect a ſecondary originall conſtitution. But if it be objected, that this being a voluntary condeſcent is an act of grace, and ſo doth not derogate from his former abſoluteneſſe, as was ſaid before of an abſolute Monarch, who confines himſelfe to governe by one rule; I anſwer, This differs eſſentially from that: for there, a free Lord, of grace yeelds to rule by ſuch a Law, reſerving the fulneſſe of power, and ſtill requiring of the people a bond and oath of utmoſt indefinite ſubjection; ſo that it amounts not to a limitation of radicall power: whereas here is a change of title, and a reſolution to be ſubiected to, in no other way, then according to ſuch a frame of government; and accordingly no other bond or oath of allegeance is required, or taken, then according to ſuch a Law: this amounts to a limitation of radicall power. And therefore they ſpeak too generally, who affirme of all acts of grace proceeding from Princes to people, as if they did not limit abſoluteneſſe: 'Tis true of acts of grace of that firſt kinde; but yet you ſee, an act of grace may be ſuch a one, as may amount to a reſignation of that abſoluteneſſe, into a more milde and moderate power, unleſſe we ſhould hold it out of the power of an abſolute Lord to be other; or that by free condeſcent, and act of grace, a man can-

not as well part with, or exchange his right and title to a thing, as denne himſelfe in the uſe and exercise; which I thinke none will affirme.

Sect. 5.

In all Governments of this allay and legall Conſtitution there are three Queſtions of ſpeciall moment to be conſidered.

How farre ſubjection is due in a limited Monarchy?

First, How farre ſubjection is due? As farre as they are Gods Ordinance, as farre as they are a power and they are a power as farre as the Contract fundamentall from which under God their authority is derived doth extend. As abſolute Lords muſt be obeyed as farre as their Will enjoynes, becauſe their Will is the meaſure of their Power, and their ſubjects Law: ſo theſe in the utmoſt extent of the Law of the Land, which is the meaſure of their power, and their ſubjects duty of obedience. I ſay ſo farre, but I doe not ſay no further: for I believe, though on our former grounds it clearely followes that ſuch Authority tranſcends its bounds if it command beyond the Law: and the Subject legally is not bound to ſubjection in ſuch caſe, yet in Conſcience a Subject is bound to yeeld to the Magiſtrate, even when he cannot *de jure*, challenge obedience, to prevent ſcandall or any occaſion of ſlighting the power which may ſometimes grow, even upon a juſt refuſall: I ſay, for theſe cauſes a ſubject ought not to uſe his liberty, but *morem gerere*, if it be in a thing in which he can poſsibly without ſubverſion, and in which his act may not be made a leading caſe, and ſo bring on a preſcription againſt publique Liberty.

Sect. 6.

How farre it is Lawfull to reſiſt

Secondly, how farre it is lawfull to reſiſt the exorbitant illegal Commands of ſuch a Monarch? 1. As before in lighter caſes, in which it may be done, for the reaſons alledged, and for the ſake of publique peace, we ought to ſubmit, and make no reſiſtance at all, but *de jure receaere.*

Poſ. 1.

Poſ. 2.

2. In caſes of higher nature Paſsive reſiſtance, *viz.* By appeale to Law, by Concealment, by Flight, is lawfull to be made, becauſe ſuch a Command is politically powerles, it proceeds not from Gods Ordinance in him: and ſo we ſin not

not against Gods Ordinance in such Non-submission, or Negative resistance.

3. For instruments or Agents in such commands, if the straight be such, and a man be surprized, that no place is left for an appeale nor evasion by Negative resistance; I conceive, against such Positive resistence may be made: because authority failing or this Act in the Supreame Power, the Agent or instrument can have none derived to him; and so is but in the nature of a private person, and his Act as an offer of private violence, and so comes under the same rules for opposition. Pos. 3.

4. For the person of the Soveraigne, I conceive it, aswell above any Positive Resistence, as the Person of an absolute Monarch; Yea, though by the whole Community, (except there be an expresse reservation of Power in the body of the State, or any deputed Persons or Court, to use in case of intolerable exorbitance, Positive Resistence, which, if there be, then such a Governour is no Monarch, for that Fundamentall Reservation destroyes it's being a Monarchy in asmuch as the Supreame Power is not in one.) For where ever there is a Soveraigne Politique Power constituted, the person or persons who are invested with it are Sacred, and out of the reach of Positive Resistance or Violence: which, as I said, if just, must be from no inferior or subordinate hand. But it will be objected, that sith every Monarch hath his power from the consent of the whole body, that consent of the whole Body hath a Power above the Power of the Monarch, and so the resistance which is done by it, is not by an inferior power, and to this purpose is brought that Axiome. *Quicquid efficit tale est magis tale.* I answer, That rule even in naturall causes is lyable to abundance of restrictions: And in the particular in hand it holds not. Where the cause doth bereave himselfe of that perfection by which it works, in the very act of causing, and convey it to that effect, It doth not remain more such then the effect, but much lesse, and below it, as if I convey an estate of Land to another, it doth not hold that after such conveyance I have a better Estate remayning in me then that other, but rather the contrary Pos. 4.

trary; becauſe what was in one is paſſed to the other: The Servant who at the year of *Jubile* would not go out free, but have his eare boared, and given his Maſter a full Lordſhip over him: can we argue, that he had afterward more power over himſelfe then his Maſter, becauſe he gave his Maſter that power over him, by that act of Oeconomicall Contract. Thus the Community whoſe conſent eſtabliſhes a Power over them cannot be ſaid univerſally to have an eminencie of Power above that which they conſtitute; ſometimes they have, ſometimes they have not: and to judge when they have, when not, reſpect muſt be had to the Originall Contract and Fundamentall Conſtitution of that State, if they have conſtituted a Monarchy, that is, inveſted one man with the Soveraignty of Power, and ſubjected all the reſt to him; Then it were unreaſonable to ſay, they yet have it in themſelves; Or have a power of recalling that Supremacie which by Oath and Contract they themſelves transferred on another: Unles we make this Oath and Contract leſſe binding then private ones, diſſoluble at pleaſure, and ſo all Monarchs Tenants at will from their people. But if they in ſuch Conſtitution reſerve a power in the body to oppoſe and diſplace the Magiſtrate for exorbitancies, and reſerve to themſelves a Tribunall to trie him in, that man is not a Monarch but the Officer and Subſtitute of him or them to whom ſuch Power over him is reſerved or conferred. The Iſſue is this. If he be a Monarch he hath the *Apex* or *Culmen Poteſtatis*, and all his Subjects *diviſim* and *conjunctim*, are below him: They have deveſted themſelves of all ſuperiority and no Power left for a Poſitive Oppoſition of the Perſon of him whom they have inveſted.

Sect. 7. *Who ſhall be the Iudge of the exceſſes of the Monarch?*

Thirdly, Who ſhall be the Iudge of the Exceſſes of the Soveraigne Lord in Monarchies of this compoſure? I anſwer, A frame of Government cannot be imagined of that perfection but that ſome inconveniencies there will be poſſible for which there can be provided no remedie: Many miſeries to which a people under an abſolute Monarchie are lyable are prevented by this Legall Allay and definement of Power.

Power. But this is expoſed to one defect from which that is free, that is an impoſsibility of conſtituting a Judge to determine this laſt controverſie, *viz.* the Soveraignes tranſgreſſing his fundamentall limits. This Judge muſt be either ſome Forraigner, and then we loſe the freedome of the State, by ſubjecting it to an externall power in the greateſt caſe: or elſe within the body: If within it, either the Monarch himſelfe, and then you deſtroy the frame of the State, and make it abſolute; for to define a Power to a Law, and then to make him Judge of his Deviations from that Law, is to abſolve him from all Law. Or elſe the Community and their Deputies muſt have this power: and then, as before, you put the *apex Poteſtatis*, the *ſupreme authority* in the whole body, or a part of it, and deſtroy the being of Monarchy: The Ruler not being Gods immediate Miniſter but of that Power, be it where it will, to which he is accomptable for his actions. So that I conceive, in a limited legall Monarchy, there can be no ſtated internall Judge of the Monarchs actions, if there grow a fundamentall Variance betwixt him and the Community. But you will ſay, it is all one way to abſoluteneſſe to aſsigne him no Judge, as to make him his own Judge. *Anſw.* I ſay not ſimplie in this caſe there is no Judge: But that there can be no Judge legall and conſtituted within that frame of Government: but it is a tranſcendent caſe beyond the proviſion of that Government, and muſt have an extraordinary Judge, and way of deciſion.

In this great and difficult caſe, I will deliver my apprehenſions freely and clearly, ſubmitting them to the cenſure of better Judgements. Suppoſe the controverſie to happen in a Government fundamentally legall, and the people no further ſubjected then to Government by ſuch a Law.

1. If the act in which the exorbitance and tranſgreſſion is ſuppoſed to be, be of leſſer moment, and not ſtriking at the very being of that Government, it ought to be borne by publique patience, rather then to endanger the being of the State by a contention betwixt the head and body Politique. Poſ. 1.

2. If it be mortall and ſuch as ſuffered, diſſolves the frame and life of the Government and publique liberty. Then the Poſ. 2.

 ille-

illegality and destructive nature is to be set open, and redreſſment ſought by Petition; which if failing, Prevention by reſiſtance ought to be. But firſt that it is ſuch muſt be made apparent; and if it be apparent, and an Appeale made *ad conſcientiam generis humani*, eſpecially of thoſe of that Community, then the fundamentall Lawes of that Monarchy muſt iudge and pronounce the ſentence in every mans conſcience; and every man (as farre as concernes him) muſt follow the evidence of Truth in his owne ſoule, to oppoſe, or not oppoſe, according as he can in conſcience acquit or condemne the act of carriage of the Governour. For I conceive in a Caſe which tranſcends the frame and proviſion of the Government they are bound to, People are unbound, and in ſtate as if they had no Government; and the ſuperiour Law of Reaſon and Conſcience muſt be Judge: wherein every one muſt proceed with the utmoſt advice and impartiality: For if hee erre in iudgement, hee either reſiſts Gods Ordinance, or puts his hand to the ſubverſion of the State and Policy he lives in.

And this power of judging argues not a ſuperiority in thoſe who Judge, over him who is Judged: for it is not Authoritative and Civill, but morall, reſiding in reaſonable Creatures and lawfull for them to execute, becauſe never deveſted and put off by any act in the conſtitution of a legall Government, but rather the reſervation of it intended: For when they define the Superiour to a Law, and conſtitute no Power to Judge of his Exceſſes from that Law, it is evident they reſerve to themſelves, not a Formall Authoritative Power, but a morall Power, ſuch as they had originally before the Conſtitution of the Government; which muſt needs remaine, being not conveyed away in the Conſtitution.

CHAP. III.

Chap. III.

Of the division of Monarchy into Elective and Successive.

THe second division of Monarchy, which I intend to treat of, is that of Elective or Successive. Elective Monarchy is that, where by the fundamentall constitution of the State, the supreme power is conveyed but to the person of him whom they take for their Prince; the people reserving to themselves power, by men deputed by the same constitution, to elect a new person on the decease of the former. Successive is, where by the fundamentall constitution of the State, the Soveraignty is conferred on one Prince; and in that one, as a root and beginning to his heires, after a forme and line of succession, constituted also by the fundamentals of that Government. In the first, the Peoples oath and contract of subiection extends but to one person: In the other, to the whole Race and Line of Successors; which continuing, the bond of subjection continues; or which failing, the people returne to their first liberty, of choosing a new person, or succession to be invested with Soveraignty. *Sect.* 1. *Elective and successive Monarchy what they are?*

I doe conceive that in the first originall all Monarchy, yea any individuall frame of Government whatsoever, is elective: that is, is constituted, and drawes its force and right from the consent and choice of that Community over which it swayeth. And that triple distinction of Monarchy, in o that which is gotten by Conquest, Prescription, or Choice, is, not of distinct parts, unlesse by Choice be meant full and formall Choice: my reason is, because man being a voluntary agent and subiection being a morall act, it doth essentially depend on consent: so that a man may by force and extremity be brought under the power of another, as unreasonable creatures are, to be disposed of, and trampled *Sect.* 2. *All Monarchy whether originally from consent?*

on, whether they will or no: But a bond of ſubjection cannot be put on him, nor a right to claime Obedience and Service acquired, unleſſe a man become bound by ſome act of his owne Will. For, ſuppoſe another, from whom I am originally free, be ſtronger then I, and ſo bring mee under his mercy, doe I therefore ſin if I doe not what he commands me? or can that act of violence paſſe into a morall title, without a morall principle?

Sect. 3. *Monarchy by divine inſtitution.*

But this will be more manifeſt, if by induction I ſhew how other titles reſolve into this. I will begin with that of divine inſtitution. *Saul* and *David* were by the Sacrament of anointing deſigned to the Kingdome, as it were by Gods owne hand, which notwithſtanding, they were not actually Kings till the Peoples conſent eſtabliſhed them therein: That unction was a manifeſtation of the appointment of God, and when it was made knowne to the People, I thinke it had the power of Precept, to reſtraine the Peoples choice to that perſon; which if they had not done, they had reſiſted Gods ordinance. Yet they were not thereby actually endowed with Kingly power, but remained as private men, till the Peoples choice put them in actuall poſſeſſion of that Power; which in *David* was not till after many yeares.

Sect. 4. *Monarchy by Preſcription.*

Then for that of Uſuage or Preſcription; if any ſuch did ever conſtitute a Monarchie, it was by vertue of an Univerſall conſent by that Uſuage and Preſcription proved and implyed: For in a Popular ſtate, where one Man in the Communitie, by reaſon of great eſtate, Wiſdome, or other Perfection is in the eye of all the reſt, all reverence him and his advice they follow: and the reſpect continues from the People to the houſe and family, for divers generations. In this caſe, ſubjection at firſt is arbitrary in the people; and if in time it become neceſſary, it is becauſe their Cuſtome is their Law; and its long continuance is equivalent to a formall Election: ſo that this Tenure and Right if it be good and more then at pleaſure, as it was at firſt, the conſiderate

conſiderate muſt needs aſcribe it to a conſent, and implicite choyce of the People.

But the mayn Queſtion is concerning Monarchy atchieved by Conqueſt; where at firſt ſight the Right ſeems gotten by the Sword, without the conſent and Choyce of the People, yea againſt it. Conqueſt is either 1. Totall where a full Conqueſt is made, by a totall ſubduing a people to the Will of the Victor: or 2. Partiall, where an entrance is made by the Sword: But the People either becauſe of the Right claymed by the Invader; or their unwillingneſſe to ſuffer the Miſeries of Warre, or their apparent inability to ſtand out in a way of Reſiſtance, or ſome other conſideration, ſubmit to a compoſition and contract of ſubjection to the Invader. In this latter it is evident, the Soveraignes Power is from the Peoples conſent; and the Government is ſuch as the Contract and fundamentall agreement makes it to be, if it be the firſt Agreement, and the pretender hath no former Title which remaines in force, for then this latter is invalid, if it include not and amount to a relinquiſhing and diſanulling of the Old. But the difficulty is concerning a full and meere Conqueſt; and of this I will ſpeak my mind clearly. Such a Warre and Invaſion of a People, which ends in a Conqueſt, 1. it is either upon the pretence or claim of a Title of Soveraignty over the People invaded: and then, if the pretender prevaile, it is properly no Conqueſt, but the vindication of a Title by force of Armes. And the Government is not Originall, but ſuch as the Title is by which he claymes it. 2. Or it is by One who hath no challenge of Right deſcending to him to juſtifie his claim and Invaſion of a People: Then if he ſubdue, he may properly be ſaid to come to his Government by Conqueſt. Sect. 5. *Monarchy by conqueſt.*

And there be who wholly condemne this title of Conqueſt as unlawfull, and take it for nothing elſe but a Nationall and publike robbery: ſo one of the Anſwerers to Doctor *Ferne*, ſaies in his p. 10. *Conqueſt may give ſuch a right as Plunderers uſe to take in houſes they can maſter.* —— *It is inhumane* *Whether conqueſt give a iuſt title?*

to talke of right of Conqueſt in a Civill, in a Chriſtian State. But I cannot allow of ſo indefinite a Cenſure: rather I think the right of Conqueſt is ſuch as the precedent Warre was: if that were lawfull, ſo is the Conqueſt: For a Prince may be invaded, or ſo farre injured by a neighbour People, or they may be ſet on ſuch a pernicious enmitie againſt him and his people, that the ſafety of himſelfe and people may compell to ſuch a Warre, which warre if it end in Conqueſt, who can judge ſuch Title unlawfull? Suppoſe then Conqueſt may be a lawfull way of acquiſition: yet an immediate cauſe of right of Soveraignty; that is, of a Civill power of Government to which obedience is due, it cannot be: I ſay, an immediate cauſe, for a remote impulſive cauſe it oft is, but not an immediate formall cauſe; for that muſt ever be the conſent of the people, whereby they accept of, and reſigne up themſelves to a Government, and then their Perſons are morally bound, and not before. Thus far the force of conqueſt may goe; it may give a man title over, and power to poſſeſſe and diſpoſe of the Countrey and Goods of the Conquered; yea, the Bodies and lives of the Conquered are at the Will and Pleaſure of the Conquerour: But it ſtill is at the Peoples choice to come into a morall condition of ſubiection or not. When they are thus at the mercy of the Victor, if to ſave life they conſent to a condition of ſervitude or ſubiection, then that conſent, oath, or covenant, which they in that extremity make, being in *re licita*, bindes them, and they owe morall Duty. But if they would rather ſuffer the utmoſt violence of the Conquerour, and will conſent to no termes of ſubjection, as *Numantia* in *Spaine*, and many other People have reſolved; they die or remaine a free People. Be they captived or poſſeſſed at pleaſure, they owe no duty, neither doe they ſin in not obeying; nor doe they reſiſt Gods ordinance, if at any time of advantage they uſe force to free themſelves from ſuch a violent poſſeſſion: yea perhaps, if before by contract they were bound to another, they ſhould ſin if to avoid death or bondage they ſhould ſweare or covenant fealty to a Conquerour, and it were more noble and laudable to die in the ſervice, and for the faith to their naturall

rall Soveraigne. Thus I am perſwaded it will appeare an uncontrolable truth in Policie, that the conſent of the People, either by themſelves or their Anceſtors, is the only mean in ordinary providence by which ſoveraignty is conferred on any Perſon or Family: neither can Gods ordinance be conveyed and People engaged in conſcience by any other means.

It hath been affirmed by ſome, that mixture and limitation is inconſiſtent to ſucceſſive Monarchy; as if where ever Soveraignty is entailed to a ſucceſſion, it muſt needs be abſolute: But I muſt profeſſe I cannot ſee how it can ſtand with truth: Rather I thinke, that both Elective and Hereditary Monarchy are indifferently capable of abſoluteneſſe or limitation. If a free, and not pre-ingaged People to any Government, by publike compact yeeld up themſelves to a Perſon, to be commanded by his Will as their ſupreme Law, during his naturall life, and no longer, can it be denied but that he is an abſolute, and yet Elective Monarch? unleſſe you will ſay, he is not abſolute, becauſe he cannot by his Will, as by a Law, bind them to elect his ſonne to ſucceed him, and change their Government into hereditary. But his being limited in this Clauſe doth not diſparage his Soveraignty, or make his power of Government limited, becauſe this belongs not to preſent Government, but is a meere proviſion for the future. Againe, if the power of Ruling according to a Law, be by conſent conveyed to one Perſon, and his heires to ſucceed after him, how this ſhould come to be abſolute and the entailement ſhould overthrow the conſtitution, I cannot imagine: If the whole latitude of power may be by a People made hereditary ſure a proportion may as well; unleſſe the limitation be ſuch as includes a repugnancy to be perpetuall. Indeed this enſtating of a ſucceſſion makes that power irrevocable, during the continuance of that ſucceſſion: but it makes it neither greater nor leſſe in the Succeſſor then was in his Progenitors, from whom hee derives it. Sect. 6. *Whether a Monarch by ſucceſſion may not be limited?*

In a ſucceſſive Monarchy the Succeſſor holds by the originall Sect. 7.

ginall Right of him who is the root of ſucceſſion; and is *de jure* King the immediate inſtant after his Predeceſſors deceaſe: Alſo the people are bound to him, though they never take any Oath to his perſon. For as he commands in vertue of the originall Right, ſo they are bound to obey by vertue of the originall Covenant, and nationall Contract of Subiection: the new oath taken either by King or People, is but a reviving of the old; that the Conſcience of it by renewing might be the more freſh and vigorous: it neither gives any new power, nor addes or detracts from the old, unleſſe by common agreement an alteration be made; and ſo the foundation in that clauſe is new, which cannot be without the conſent of both parties.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Diviſion of Monarchy into Simple and Mixed.

Sect. 1. *Simple and mixed Monarchy, what?*

THe third diviſion is into Simple and Mixed. Simple is when the Government abſolute or limited is ſo intruſted in the hands of one, that all the reſt is by deputation from him; ſo that there is no authority in the whole Body but his, or derived from him: And that One is either individually one Perſon, and then it is a ſimple Monarchy: Or one aſſociate Body, choſen either out of the Nobility, whence the Government is called a ſimple Ariſtocraty: or out of the Community, without reſpect of birth or ſtate, which is termed a ſimple Democracy. The ſupreme authority reſiding excluſively in one of theſe three, denominates the Government ſimple, which ever it be.

Now experience teaching People, that ſeverall inconveniences are in each of theſe, which is avoided by the other: as aptneſſe to Tyranny in ſimple Monarchy: aptneſſe to deſtructive Factions in an Ariſtocracy: and aptneſſe to Confuſion and Tumult in a Democracy. As on the contrary, each

of

of them hath ſome good which the others want, *viz.* Unity and ſtrength in a Monarchy; Counſell and Wiſedome in an Ariſtocracy; Liberty and reſpect of Common good in a Democracy. Hence the wiſedome of men deeply ſeene in State matters guided them to frame a mixture of all three, uniting them into one Forme, that ſo the good of all might be enjoyed, and the evill of them avoyded. And this mixture is either equall, when the higheſt command in a State by the firſt Conſtitution of it is equally ſeated in all three; and then (if firme Union can be in a mixture of Equality) it can be called by the name of neither of them but by the generall ſtile of a *Mixed State*: or if there be priority of Order in one of the three, (as I thinke there muſt be, or elſe there can be no Unity) it may take the name of that which hath the precedency. But the firmer Union is, where one of the three is predominant and in that regard gives the denomination to the whole: So we call it a *Mixed Monarchy*, where the primity of ſhare in the ſupreme power is in one.

Sect. 2. *What it is which conſtitutes a mixed Monarchy?*

Now I conceive to the conſtituting of Mixed Monarchy (and ſo proportionately it may be ſaid of the other.)

1. The Soveraigne power muſt be originally in all three, *viz.* If the compoſition be of all three ſo that one muſt not hold his power from the other, but all equally from the fundamentall Conſtitution: for if the power of one be originall, and the other Derivative, it is no mixture, for ſuch a Derivation of power to others is in the moſt ſimple Monarchy: Againe, the end of mixture could not be obteyned; for why is this mixture framed, but that they might confine each other from exorbitance, which cannot be done by a derivate power, it being unnaturall that a derived power ſhould turne back, and ſet bounds to its owne beginning. Poſ. 1.

2. A full equality muſt not be in the three eſtates, though they are all ſharers in the Supreame power; for if it were ſo, it could not have any ground in it to denominate it a Monarchie, more then an Ariſtocracie or Democracie. Poſ. 2.

3. A power then muſt be ſought wherewith the Monarch muſt be inveſted, which is not ſo great as to deſtroy the Poſ. 3.

mixture; nor ſo titular as to deſtroy the Monarchy; which I conceive may be in theſe particulars.

1. If he be the head and Fountaine of the power which governs and executes the eſtabliſhed Lawes, ſo that both the other States as well *conjunctim* as *diviſim*, be his ſworne ſubjects, and owe obedience to his commands, which are according to eſtabliſhed Lawes.

2. If he hath a ſole or chiefe power in capacitating and putting thoſe perſons or ſocieties in ſuch States and conditions, as whereunto ſuch Supreme power by the foundations of the Government doth belong, and is annexed: ſo that though the Ariſtocratical and Democraticall power which is conjoyned to his, be not from him: yet the definement and determination of it to ſuch perſons is from him, by a neceſſary conſecution.

3. If the power of convocating or cauſing to be put in exiſtence, and diſſolving ſuch a Court or Meeting of the two other eſtates as is authoritative, be in him.

4. If his authority be the laſt and greateſt, though not the ſole, which muſt eſtabliſh and adde a *conſummatum* to every Act. I ſay theſe or any of theſe put into one perſon makes that State Monarchicall, becauſe the other, though they depend not on him *quoad eſſentiam et actus formales*, but on the prime conſtitution of the Government, yet *quoad exiſtentiam et determinationem ad ſubjecta*, they doe.

The Supreme power being either the *Legiſlative* or the *Gubernative*. In a mixed Monarchy ſometimes the mixture is the ſeate of the *Legiſlative* power, which is the chiefe of the two: The power of conſtituting officers for governing by thoſe Lawes being left to the Monarch: Or elſe the Primacie of both theſe powers is jointly in all three: For if the Legiſlative be in one, then the Monarchy is not mixed but ſimple, for that is the Superiour, if that be in one, all elſe muſt needs be ſo too: By Legiſlative, I meane the power of making new Lawes, if any new be needfull to be added to the foundation: and the Authentick power of interpreting the old; For I take it, this is a branch of the Legiſlative and is as great, and in effect the ſame power.

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Every mixed Monarchy is limited: but it is not neceſſary that every limited ſhould be mixed: For the Prince in a mixed Monarchy, were there no definement of him to a Law but onely this: that his Legiſlative acts have no validity without the allowance and joint authority of the other: this is enough to denominate it exactly a limited Monarchy: and ſo much it muſt have, if it be mixed. On the other ſide, if in the foundations of his Government he be reſtrained to to any Law beſides his own Will, he is a limited Monarch, though that both the Legiſlative and Gubernative power (provided he exceed not thoſe Lawes) be left in his owne hands: But then the Government is not mixed. Sect. 3.

Now concerning the extent of the Princes power, and the ſubjects duty in a mixed Monarchy, almoſt the ſame is to be ſaid, which was before in a limited: for it is a generall rule in this matter: ſuch as the Conſtitution of Government is, ſuch is the Ordinance of God: ſuch as the Ordinance is, ſuch muſt our duty of ſubjection be. No Power can challenge an obedience beyond its owne meaſure; for if it might, we ſhould deſtroy all Rules and differences of Government, and make all abſolute and at pleaſure. In every mixed Principality. Sect. 4. *How far the Princes power extends in a mixed Monarchy?*

Firſt, Looke what Power is ſolely entruſted and committed to the Prince by the fundamentall Conſtitution of the State, in the due execution thereof all owe full ſubjection to him, even the other Eſtates, being but ſocieties of his ſubjects bound to him by Oath of Allegeance as to their liege Lord. Aſſert. 1.

Secondly, thoſe acts belonging to the power which is ſtated in a mixed Principle if either part of that Principle, or two of the three undertake to doe them it is invalid, it is no binding Act; for in this caſe all three have a free Negative voice: and take away the priviledge of a Negative Voice, ſo that, in caſe of refuſall the reſt have power to doe it without the third, then you deſtroy that Third, and make him but a Looker on: So that in every mixed Government, I take it, there muſt be a neceſſity of concurrence of all three Eſtates Aſſert. 2.

in the production of Acts belonging to that power, which is committed in common to them: Elſe ſuppoſe thoſe Acts valid which are done by any *major* part, that is, any two of the three, then you put it in the power of any two, by a confederacy at pleaſure to diſanull the third, or ſuſpend all its Acts, and make it a bare Cypher in Government.

Aſſert. 3. Thirdly, in ſuch a compoſed State, if the Monarch invade the power of the other two, or run in any courſe tending to the diſſolving of the conſtituted frame, they ought to employ their power in this caſe to preſerve the State from ruine; yea that is the very end and fundamentall aime in conſtituting all mixed Policies: not that they by croſſing and jarring ſhould hinder the publike good; but that, if one exorbitate, the power of reſtraint and providing for the publike ſafety ſhould be in the reſt: and the power is put into divers hands, that one ſhould counterpoize and keep even the other: ſo that for ſuch other Eſtates, it is not onely lawfull to deny obedience and ſubmiſſion to illegall proceedings, as private men may, but it is their duty, and by the foundations of the Government they are bound to prevent diſſolution of the eſtabliſhed Frame.

Aſſert. 4. Fourthly, the Perſon of the Monarch, even in theſe mixed Formes, (as I ſaid before in the limited) ought to be above the reach of violence in his utmoſt exorbitances: For when a People have ſworne allegeance, and inveſted a Perſon or Line with Supremacy, they have made it ſacred, and no abuſe can deveſt him of that power, irrevocably communicated. And while he hath power in a mixed Monarchy, he is the Univerſall Soveraigne, even of the other limiting States: ſo that being above them, he is *de jure* exempt from any penall hand.

Aſſert. 5. Fifthly, that one inconvenience muſt neceſſarily be in all mixed Governments, which I ſhewed to be in limited Governments, there can be no Conſtituted, Legall, Authoritative Judge of the fundamentall Controverſies ariſing betwixt the three Eſtates. If ſuch doe ariſe, it is the fatall diſeaſe of theſe Governments, for which no ſalve can be preſcribed; For the eſtabliſhed being of ſuch authority, would

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ipſo facto overthrow the Frame, and turne it into abſoluteneſſe: So that if one of theſe, or two, ſay their power is invaded, and the Government aſſaulted by the other, the Accuſed denying it, it doth become a controverſie: of this queſtion there is no legall Judge, it is a caſe beyond the poſſible proviſion of ſuch a Government. The Accuſing ſide muſt make it evident to every mans Conſcience. In this caſe, which is beyond the Government, the Appeale muſt be to the Community, as if there were no Government; and as by Evidence mens Conſciences are convinced, they are bound to give their utmoſt aſſiſtance. For the intention of the Frame in ſuch States, juſtifies the exerciſe of any power, conducing to the ſafety of the Univerſality and Government eſtabliſhed.

PART II.

Of this particular MONARCHY.

CHAP. I.

Whether the Power wherewith our Kings are inveſted, be an Abſolute, or Limited and Moderated Power?

Sect. 1. HAving thus far proceeded in generall, before we can bring home this to a ſtating of the great controverſie, which now our ſins, Gods diſpleaſure, and evill turbulent men have raiſed up in our lately moſt flouriſhing but now moſt unhappy Kingdome. Wee muſt firſt looke into the Frame and Compoſure of our Monarchy; for till we fully are reſolved of that, we cannot apply the former generall Truths, nor on them ground the Reſolution of this ruining contention.

Concerning the Eſſentiall Compoſure of this Government, that it is Monarchicall, is by none to be queſtioned: but the enquiry muſt be about the Frame of it. And ſo there are ſeven great queſtions to be proſecuted.

Queſt. 1. *ſtated.* Firſt, *Whether it be a Limited Monarchy, or Abſolute?* Here the queſtion is not concerning Power in the Exerciſe, but the Root and being of it: for none will deny but that the

the way of Government uſed, and to be uſed in this Realme, is a deſigned way: Onely ſome ſpeake as if this Definement were an act of Grace from the Monarchs themſelves, being pleaſed at the ſuit, and for the good of the People, to let their power run into act through ſuch a courſe and current of Law: whereas, if they at any time ſhall thinke fit on great cauſes to vary from that way, and uſe the full extent of their power, none ought to contradict, or refuſe to obey. Neither is it the queſtion, Whether they ſin againſt God if they abuſe their power, and run out into acts of injury at pleaſure, and violate thoſe Lawes which they have by Publike Faith and Oath promiſed to obſerve; for none will deny this to be true, even in the moſt abſolute Monarch in the world. But the point controverted is punctually this, *Whether the Authority which is inherent in our Kings be boundleſſe and abſolute, or limited and determined, ſo that the acts which they doe, or command to be done without that compaſſe and bounds, be not onely ſinfull in themſelves, but invalid and non-authoritative to others?*

Now for the determining hereof, I conceive and am in my Judgement perſwaded, *that the Soveraignty of our Kings is radically and fundamentally limited*, and not onely in the uſe and Exerciſe of it: And am perſwaded ſo on theſe grounds and Reaſons. Sect. 2. Aſſert.

Firſt, Becauſe the Kings Majeſty himſelfe, who beſt knowes by his Councell the nature of his own power, ſayes, that [a] *the Law is the meaſure of his power*: which is as full a conceſſion of the thing as words can expreſſe. If it be the meaſure of it, then his power is limited by it; for the meaſure is the limits and bounds of the thing limited. And in his Anſwer to both the Houſes concerning the *Militia*, ſpeaking of the men named to him, ſayes, *If more power ſhall be thought fit to be granted to them, then by Law is in the Crowne it ſelfe, His Maieſty holds it reaſonable, that the ſame be by ſome Law firſt veſted in him, with power to transferre it to theſe perſons, &c.* In which paſſage it is granted that the Powers of the Crown are by Law, and that the King hath no more then are veſted in him by Law. Reaſ. 1.

[a] *Declar. from Newmarket Mart. 9. 1641*

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Reaſ. 2. Secondly, becauſe it is in the very Conſtitution of it mixed, as I ſhall afterwards make it appeare, then it is radically limited; for as I ſhewed before, every mixed Monarchy is limited, though not on the contrary: for the neceſſary connexion of other power to it, is one of the greateſt limitations. A ſubordination of Cauſes doth not ever prove the ſupreme Cauſe of limited virtue; a co-ordination doth alwayes.

Reaſ. 3. Thirdly, I prove it from the ancient, ordinary, and received denommaitons; for the Kings Majeſty is called our *Liege*, that is, *Legall Soveraigne*; and we his *Liege* that is his *Legall Subjects*: what doe theſe names argue, but that his Soveraignty and our ſubjection is legall that is, reſtrained by Law?

Reaſ. 4. Fourthly, had we no other proofe, yet that of *Preſcription* were ſufficient: In all ages, beyond record, the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Kingdome have been the Rule of Government; Liberties have been ſtood upon, and Grants thereof, with limitations of Royall power, made and acknowledged by *Magna Charta*, and other publike and ſolemne acts; and no Obedience acknowledged to be due but that which is according to Law, nor claimed but under ſome pretext and title of Law.

Reaſ. 5. Fifthly, the very Being of our Common and Statute Lawes, and our Kings acknowledging themſelves bound to governe by them, doth prove and preſcribe them Limited: for thoſe Lawes are not of their ſole compoſing, nor were they eſtabliſhed by their ſole Authority, but by the concurrence of the other two Eſtates: ſo that to be confined to that which is not meerly their owne, is to be in a limited condition.

Pleaders for defenſive armes Sect. 2. & 4. Some there be which have lately written on this ſubject, who take another way to prove our Government limited by Law, *viz.* by denying all abſolute Government to be lawfull; affirming that Abſolute Monarchy is not at all Gods Ordinance, and ſo no lawfull power ſecured from reſiſtance. What is their ground for this? God allowes no man to rule as he liſt, nor puts mens lives in the pleaſure of the Monarch.

narch: It is a power arbitrary and injurious. But I desire those Authors to consider, that in absolute Monarchy there is not a resignation of men to any Will or list, but to the *reasonable Will of the Monarch*, which having the Law of reason to direct it, is kept from injurious acts. But see for defence of this Government, *Part* 1. *cap.* 2.

Having set downe those Reasons on which my Judgement is setled on this side, I will consider the maine Reasons whereby some have endeavoured to prove this Government to be of an absolute nature, and will shew their invalidity. Many Divines perhaps inconsiderately, perhaps wittingly for self ends, have beene of late yeares strong Pleaders for *Absolutenesse* of Monarchicall Power in this Land; and pressed Obedience on the Consciences of People in the utmost extremity, which can be due in the most absolute Monarchy in the world; but I seldome or never heard or read them make any difference of Powers, but usually bring their proofes from those Scriptures, where subjection is commanded to the *higher Powers*, and all resistence of them forbidden and from Examples taken out of the manner of the government of *Israel* and *Judah*: as if any were so impious to contradict those truths, and they were not as well obeyed in Limited Government as in Absolute; or as if Examples taken out of one Government do alwayes hold in another, unlesse their aime were to deny all distinction of Governments, and to hold all absolute, who have any where the supreme power conveyed to them. Sect. 3.

Among these, I wonder most at that late discourse of Dr. *Ferne*, who in my Judgement avoucheth things inconsistent, and evidently contradictory one to the other: For in his Preface he acknowledges our Obedience to be limited and circumscribed by the Lawes of the Land, and accordingly to be yeelded or denied to the higher Power; and that *he is as much against an absolute Power in the King, and to raise him to an arbitrary way of Government, as against resistence on the Subjects part*: also, *that this power is limited by Law*, Sect. 5. Yet on the other side he affirmes, *That the King holds his Crown by conquest*;



that it is *deſcended to him by three Conqueſts, Sect.* 2. that we even our Senate of Parliament hath not ſo much plea for reſiſtence as the ancient *Romane* Senate had under the *Romane* Emperours, whoſe power we know was abſolute, *Sect.* 2. that in Monarchy the judgement of many is reduced to one: that Monarchy ſettles the chief power and finall Judgment in one, *Sect.* 5 what is this but to confeſſe him limited: and yet to maintain him abſolute?

Arguments on the contrary diſſolved.

But let us come to the Arguments. Firſt, ſay they, our Kings came to their right by Conqueſt; yea, ſaies the Dr. by three Conqueſts: He meanes the *Saxons, Danes,* and *Normans,* as appears afterwards: Therefore their right is abſolute. Here, that they may advance themſelves, they care not though it be on the ruine of publique liberty, by bringing a whole Nation into the condition of conquered ſlaves: But to the Argument. 1. Suppoſe the Antecedent true, the Conſequution is not alwaies true; for as is evident before in the firſt Part. All Conqueſt doth not put the Conqueror into an abſolute right. He may come to a right by Conqueſt: but not ſole Conqueſt; but a partiall, occaſioning a Right by finall Agreement; and then the right is ſpecificated by that fundamentall agreement: Alſo he may by ſword proſecute a claime of another nature: and in his war intend only an acquiring of that claimed right, and after conqueſt reſt in that: Yea farther, he may win a Kingdome meerly by the Sword and enter on it by right of Conqueſt: yet conſidering that right of conqueſt hath too much of force in it to be ſafe and permanent; he may thinke conqueſt the beſt meane of getting a Kingdome, but not of holding, and in wildome for himſelfe and poſterity, gaine the affections of the people by deſerting that Title, and taking a new by Politique agreement, or deſcend from that right by fundamentall grants of liberties to the people, and limitations to his own power: but theſe things I ſaid in effect before, in the firſt part, only here I have recalled them, to ſhew what a *non ſequitur* there is in the Argument. But that which I chiefly intend, is to ſhew the infirmity or falſehood of the Antecedent: it is an Aſſertion moſt untrue in it ſelfe; and pernitious to the State:

Our

Our Princes profeſſe no other way of comming to the Crown, but by right of ſucceſsion to rule free ſubjects in a legall Monarchy. All the little ſhew of proofe theſe Aſſertors have, is from the root of ſucceſsion: So *William* commonly called the Conquerour. For that of the *Saxons* was an expulſion not a Conqueſt, for as our Hiſtories record, They comming into the Kingdome drove out the Britaines, and by degrees planted themſelves under their Commanders; and no doubt continued the freedome they had in *Germany*: unles we ſhould thinke that by conquering they loſt their own Liberties to the Kings for whom they conquered and expelled the Britiſh into *Wales*. Rather I conceive, the Originall of the ſubjects libertie was by thoſe our fore-fathers brought out of *Germany*: Where, as *Tacitus reports, nec Regibus infinita aut libera poteſtas*: Their Kings had no abſolute but limited power: and all weighty matters were diſpatched by generall meetings of all the Eſtates. Who ſees not here the antiquity of our Liberties and frame of Government? ſo they were governed in *Germany*, and ſo here to this day, for by tranſplanting themſelves they changed their ſoyl; not their manners and Government: Then, that of the *Danes* was indeed a violent Conqueſt; and, as all violent rules, it laſted not long; when the Engliſh expelled them they recovered their Countrey and Liberties together. Thus it is clear, the Engliſh Libertie remained to them till the *Norman* Invaſion, notwithſtanding that Daniſh interruption. Now for Duke *William*, I know nothing they have in him but the bare ſtile of Conqueror, which ſeems to make for them: The very truth is, and everie intelligent reader of the Hiſtorie of thoſe times will atteſt it, that Duke *William* pretended the grant and gift of King *Edward* who died without children, and he came with forces into this Kingdome, not to Conquer but make good his Title againſt his enemies: his end of entring the Land was not to gaine a new abſolute Title but to vindicate the old limited one, whereby the Engliſh *Saxon* Kings his Predeceſſors held this Kingdome. Though his Title was not ſo good as it ſhould be, yet it was better then *Harolds*, who was onely the Sonne of *Goodwyn*, Steward

Tacit. de Morib. German. Sect. 3. & 5.

Camb. Cen. Britan. Norma.

Steward of King *Edwards* houſe; Whereas *William* was Couſen to *Emma* mother to the ſaid King *Edward*; by whom he was adopted; and by ſolemne promiſe of King *Edward* was to ſucceed him: Of which promiſe *Harold* himſelfe became ſurety, and bound by oath to ſee it performed: Here was a faire Title, eſpecially *Edgar Atheling* the right Heire being of tender age, and diſaffected by the people. Neither did he proceed to a full Conqueſt, but after *Harold* who uſurped the Crown was ſlain in battle, and none to ſucceed him, the Throne being void, the people choſe rather to ſubmit to *William* and his Title, then endure the hazzard of ruining war, by oppoſing him, to ſet up a new King: It is not to be imagined, that ſuch a Realme as *England* could be conquered by ſo few, in ſuch a ſpace, if the peoples voluntary acceptance of him and his claime had not facilitated and ſhortned his undertaking. Thus we have it related in Mr. *Camden*, that before *Harold* uſurped the Crown, moſt men thought it the wiſeſt Policie to ſet the Crown on *Williams* head, that by performing the Oath and promiſe, a Warre might be prevented: And that *Harold* by aſſuming the Crown, provoked the whole Clergy and Eccleſiaſticall State againſt him: and we know how potent in thoſe daies the Clergy were in State affaires. Alſo that after one battle fought wherein *Harold* was ſlain, he went to *London*, was received by the Londoners, and ſolemnly inaugurated King as unto whom by his own ſaying the Kingdome was by Gods Providence appointed, and by vertue of a gift from his Lord and Couſen King *Edward*, the glorious, granted: ſo that after that battell the remainder of the war was diſpatched by Engliſh forces and Leaders But ſuppoſe he did come in a Conqueror, yet he did not eſtabliſh the Kingdome on thoſe termes, but on the old Lawes, which he reteyned and authotized for himſelfe and his Succeſſors to governe by. Indeed after his ſettlement in the Kingdome, ſome *Norman* Cuſtomes he brought in, and to gratify his ſouldiers diſpoſſeſſed many Engliſh of their eſtates, dealing in it too much like a Conqueror: but the triall by twelve men, and other fundamentalls of Government, wherein the Engliſh freedome conſiſts, he left untouched, which

which have remained till this day: On the ſame Title he claimed and was inaugurated, was he King which was a title of righttull ſucceſsion to *Edward*: therfore he was indeed King not as Conqueror, but as *Edwards* Succeſſor, and on the ſame right as he and his Predeceſſors held the Crowne. As alſo by the grant of the former Lawes and forme of Government, he did equivalently put himſelfe and ſucceſſors into the State of legall Monarchs, and in that Tenure have all the Kings of this Land held the Crown till this day, when theſe men would rake up and put a Title of Conqueſt upon them, which never was claimed or made uſe of by him who is the firſt root of their ſucceſsion.

Another reaſon which they produce is the ſucceſsive nature of this Monarchy: for with them, to be elective and limited, and to be ſucceſsive and abſolute, are equipollent: They conceive it impoſsible that a Government ſhould be Hereditary and not abſolute: But I have enough made it appear, *Part* 1. *Chap.* 2. *Sect.* 6. That ſucceſsion doth not prove a Monarchie abſolute from limitation, though it proves it abſolution from interruption and diſcontinuance during the being of that ſucceſsion to which it is defined. And that which they object that our Kings are actually ſo before they take the Oath of governing by Law, and ſo they would be, did they never take that Oath; wherefore it is no Limitation of their royall power, is there alſo anſweted in the next *Sect.* and that ſo fully, that no more need be ſaid. The ſame Law which gives the King his Crown immediatly upon the deceaſe of his Predeceſſor, conveyes it to him with the ſame Determinations and Prerogatives annexed, with which his Progeintors enjoyed it, ſo that he entring on that Originall Right, his ſubjects are bound to yeild obedience, before they take any Oath: And he is bound to the Lawes of the Monarchy, before he actually renewes the bond by any Perſonall Oath. There is yet another argument uſually brought to this purpoſe, taken from the Oath of Allegiance: but of that I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeake hereafter. *Sect.* 4.

Chap. II.

Queſt. 2. *Suppoſing it be in the Platforme limited, Wherein, and how far forth it is limited and defined?*

Poſ. 1. I Conceive it fundamentally limited in five particulars. Firſt, in the whole latitude of the *Nomothetical* power; ſo that their power extends not to eſtabliſh any Act, which hath the Being and ſtate of a Law of the Land: nor give an authenticke ſenſe to any Law of doubtfull and controverted meaning, ſolely and by themſelves, but together with the concurrent Authority of the two other Eſtates in Parliament.

Poſ. 2. Secondly, in the Governing Power, there is a confinement to the Fundamentall Common Lawes, and to the ſuperſtructive Statute Lawes, by the former concurrence of Powers enacted, as to the Rule of all their Acts and Executions.

Poſ. 3. Thirdly, in the power of conſtituting Officers, and meanes of governing; not in the choice of Perſons for that is intruſted to his Judgement, for ought I know, but in the conſtitution of Courts of Judicature: For as hee cannot Judge by himſelfe or Officers, but in Courts of Juſtice; ſo thoſe Cours of Juſtice muſt have a conſtitution by a concurrence of the three Eſtates: They muſt have the ſame power to conſtitute them, as the Lawes which are diſpenſed in them.

Poſ. 4. Fourthly, in the very ſucceſſion; for though ſucceſſion hath been brought as a *Medium* to prove the Abſoluteneſſe of this Government yet if it be more throughly conſidered, it is rather a proofe of the contrary; and every one who is a ſucceſſive Monarch is ſo far limited in his power, that he cannot leave it to whom he pleaſes, but to whom the Fundamentall Law concerning that Succeſſion hath deſigned it. And herein tho'gh our Monarchy be not ſo far limited as that of *France* is ſaid to be, where the King cannot leave it to his

his Daughter, but to his Heire male, yet reſtrained it is; ſo that ſhould he affect another more, or judge another fitter to ſucceed, yet he cannot pleate himſelfe in this, but is limited to the next Heire borne, not adopted or denominated: which was the caſe 'twixt Queene *Mary* and the Lady *Jane*.

Laſtly, in point of Revenue wherein their Power extendeth not to their Subjects Eſtates; by Taxes and Impoſitions to make their owne what they pleaſe, as hath been acknowledged by *Magna Charta*, and lately by the *Petition of Right*, the caſe of *Ship-money*, *Conduct-money*, *&c.* Nor, as I conceive, to make an Alienation of any Lands, or other Revenues annexed by Law to the Crowne. I meddle not with perſonall limitations, whereby Kings, as well as private men, may limit themſelves by Promiſe and Covenant, which being particular, bind onely themſelves; but of thoſe which are radicall, and have continued during the whole current of ſucceſſion from unknowne times. Other limitations, it is likely, may be produced by thoſe who are skilfull in the Lawes: but I beleeve they will be ſuch as are reducible to ſome of theſe, which I take to be the principall and moſt apparent limitations of this Monarchy, and are a moſt convincing induction to prove my Aſſertion in the former Chapter, *That this Monarchy, in the very Mold and Frame of it, is of limited conſtitution.* Poſ. 5.

Chap. III.

Whether it be of a Simple or Mixed Conſtitution? Queſt. 3.

When the Government is ſimple, when mixed; alſo where the mixture muſt be, which denominates a mixed Government, is explained *Part* 1. *Cap.* 3. Now I conceive it a cleare and undoubted Truth, that the Authority of this Land is of a compounded and mixed nature in the very root and conſtitution thereof. And my judgement is eſtabliſhed on theſe grounds. *Sect.* 1.

First,

Reaſ. 1. *Anſwer to the 19. Propoſit.* First, It is acknowledged to be a Monarchy mixed with Ariſtocracy in the houſe of Peeres, and Democracy in the houſe of Commons. Now (as before was made appeare in the firſt Part) it is no mixture which is not in the Root and Supremacy of Power: for though it have a ſubordination of inferiour Officers, and though the Powers inferiour be ſeated in a mixed ſubject, yet that makes it not a mixed Government; for it is compatible to the ſimpleſt in the world, to have ſubordinate mixtures.

Reaſ. 2. Secondly, that Monarchy where the legiſlative power is in all three, is in the very Root and Eſſence of it compounded and mixed of thoſe three; for that is the height of power, to which the other parts are ſubſequent and ſubſervient: ſo that where this reſideth in a mixed ſubject, that is, in three diſtinct concurrent Eſtates, the conſent and concourſe of all moſt free, and none depending on the will of the other, that Monarchy is in the moſt proper ſenſe and in the very modell of it of a mixed conſtitution: but ſuch is the ſtate of this Monarchy, as appeares in the former queſtion, and is ſelf-apparent.

Reaſ. 3. Thirdly, that Monarchy, in which three Eſtates are conſtituted, to the end that the power of one ſhould moderate and reſtrain from exceſſe the power of the other, is mixed in the root and eſſence of it: but ſuch is this, as is confeſſed in the anſwere to the ſaid Propoſitions. The truth of the *major* will appeare, if we conſider how many wayes proviſion may be made in a Politicall Frame to remedy and reſtraine the exceſſes of Monarchy. I can imagine but three wayes. Firſt, by conſtituting a legall power above it, that it may be regulated thereby, as by an over-ruling power: Thus wee muſt not conceive of our two houſes of Parliament, as if they could remedy the exorbitances of the Prince by an Authority ſuperiour to his; for this were to ſubordinate him to the two Houſes, to ſet a ſuperiour above the Soveraigne, that is, to deſtroy the being of his Monarchicall power. Secondly, by an originall conveyance to him of a limited and legall power, ſo that beyond it he can doe no poteſtative act; yet conſtituting no formall legall power to reſtraine or redreſſe his

his poſſible exorbitances; here is limitation without mixture of another conſtituted power: As the former of theſe overthrowes the power of the Soveraigne, ſo this makes no proviſion for the iudemnity of the people. Thirdly, now the never enough to be admired wiſedome of the Architects and Contrivers of the frame of Government in this Realme (who ever they were) have found a third way, by which they have conſerved the Soveraignty of the Prince; and alſo made an excellent proviſion for the Peoples freedome, by conſtituting two Eſtates of men, who are for their condition Subjects, and yet have that intereſt in the Government, that they can both moderate and redreſſe the exceſſes and illegalities of the Royall power, which (I ſay) cannot be done, but by a mixture, that is, by putting into their hands a power to meddle in acts of the higheſt function of Government; a power not depending on his will, but radically their owne, and ſo ſufficient to moderate the Soveraignes power.

Now what can reaſonably be ſaid in oppoſition to theſe grounds, proving a fundamentall mixture, I cannot deviſe. Neither indeed is a mixture in the Government denied by the greateſt Patrons of irreſiſtibility; onely ſuch a mixture they would faine make it, which might have no power of poſitive reſiſtence. I will therefore ſet down what they probably may or do object to this purpoſe, and will ſhew the invalidity thereof. *Sect.* 2.

Firſt, this mixture ſeems not to be of diſtinct powers but of a Power & a Councell; authority in the Prince to give power to Acts, and counſell in the two Houſes to adviſe and propoſe wholeſom Acts; as if the royall power alone did give life to the Law: onely he is confined in this power, that he cannot animate any Act to the being of a Law, but ſuch as is propoſed unto him by this great and Legiſlative Councell of Parliament. *Sol.* This were probable, ſuppoſing the Parliament were onely in the nature of a Counſell; but we know it is alſo a Court, the *High Court of Parliament*: Now it is evident that a Court is the ſeat and ſubject of Authority and *Object.* 1.

power, and not barely of counſell and advice.

Object. 2. Secondly, the two Houſes together with the King, are the ſupreme Court of the Kingdome; but taken divitely from the King, it is no Court, and conſequently hath no power. *Sol.* Suppoſe them no entire Court divided from the King, yet they are two Eſtates of the three which make up the ſupreme Court; ſo that they have a power and authority, though not complete and ſufficing to perfect an Act, without the concourſe of the third: For it appeares by the Acts of that Court, that every of the three Eſtates hath a Legiſlative power in it; every Act being enacted by the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, and by the *Authority of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament.*

Sect. 3. *Object.* 3. Thirdly, they have an authority, but in ſubordination to the King, and derived from him, as his Parliament. Indeed this is a maine Queſtion, and hath very weighty Arguments on both ſides, *viz. Whether the authority of both the Houſes be a ſubordinate authority, and derived from the King as its original?* Three Reaſons ſeeme ſtrong for the affirmative: Firſt, becauſe it is his Parliament, ſo called and acknowledged: If his Court, then the power whereby they are a Court is his power, derived from him, as the power of other Courts is. Secondly, becauſe he hath the power of calling and diſſolving it. Thirdly, becauſe he is acknowledged in the Oaths of Allegeance and Supremacy to be the Head, and of ſupreme authority in the Kingdome, and all ſubject to him.

Whether the authority of the two Houſes be derived from the King?

Treatiſe entituled, A fuller Anſwer to Dr. *Ferne.* And whereas ſome make anſwere, that he is *Singulis major*, but *Univerſis minor*, ſo the Anſwerer to Doctor *Ferne*; I wonder that the Propoſition of the Obſervator, that the King is *Univerſis minor*, ſhould be ſo much exploded. Every member *ſeorſim* is a ſubject, but all *collectim* in their houſes are not: And hee ſayes ſimply, the Houſes are co-ordinate to the King, not ſubordinate; that the Lords ſtile, *Comites*, or *Pares*, implies in Parliament a co-ordinative ſociety with his Majeſty in the Government. I conceive this Anſwerer to avoid one extreme falls on another; for this is a very overthrow of all Monarchy, and to reduce all Government

to

to Democracy; For looke where the *apex poteſtatis* is, there is the Government. Alſo it is againſt Common Reaſon: For the King, is he not King of the Kingdome? and what is the Kingdome but all united? all the particulars knit together in one body politick? ſo that if he be King of the Kingdome, he is *Univerſis major* too; for the King is *major*, and the Kingdome is the united univerſe of the People. Thus thoſe expreſſions are ſome of them falſe, ſome though *ſecundum quid* true; yet ſpoken ſimply, and in that manner, are ſcandalous and incompatible to Monarchy. Thus you ſee what may be ſaid on the one ſide, to prove the King to be the originall of all power, even of that which is in the Houſes of Parliament aſſembled.

On the other ſide are as weighty Arguments to prove the contrary, *viz.* That the two Houſes authority is not dependent, nor derived from the Royall power. Firſt, the authority of the Houſes being Legiſlative, is the ſupreme, and ſo cannot bee derived. Three concurrent Powers producing one ſupreme act, as con-cauſe, joint cauſes of the ſame higheſt effect cannot have a ſubordination among themſelves in reſpect of that cauſalty; it not being imaginable how a power can cauſe the ſupreme effect, and yet be a ſubordinate and derived power. Secondly, the end of conſtituting theſe two Eſtates being the limiting and preventing the exceſſes of the third, their power muſt not be totally dependent and derived from the third, for then it were unſuitable for the end for which it was ordained: For to limit an Agent by a power ſubordinate and depending on himſelf, is all one as to leave him at large without any limitation at all. Thirdly, that which hath beene ſpoken of a mixed Monarchy doth fully prove that the two other powers which concurre with the Monarch, to conſtitute the mixture, muſt not be altogether ſubordinate to it, and derived from it. I muſt profeſſe theſe Reaſons to prevaile with me, that I cannot conceive how the authority of the two Houſes can in the whole being of it be a dependent and derived power.

That we may find out the truth amidſt this potent con- Sect. 4.

Reſolution of the Queſtion.

contradiction of both ſides, recourſe muſt be had to the Architecture of this Government, whereof I muſt declare my ſelf to be ſo great an Admirer, that what ever more then humane wiſedom had the contriving of it, whether done at once, or by degrees found out and perfected, I conceive it unparalleld for exactneſſe of true policy in the whole world; ſuch a care for the Soveraignty of the Monarch, ſuch a proviſion for the liberty of the People, and that one may bee juſtly allayed, and yet conſiſt without impeachment of the other, that I wonder how our Forefathers in thoſe rude unpoliſhed times could attain ſuch an accurate compoſure. Firſt then ſuppoſe a people, either compelled to it by conqueſt, or agreeing to it by free conſent, Nobles and Commons ſet over themſelves by publike compact one Soveraigne, and reſigne up themſelves to him and his heires, to be governed by ſuch and ſuch Fundamentall Lawes: there's a ſupremacy of power ſet up, though limited to one courſe of exerciſe. Secondly, then becauſe in all Governments after caſes will come, it requiring an addition of Lawes, ſuppoſe them covenanting with their Soveraigne, that if cauſe be to conſtitute any other Lawes, hee ſhall not by his ſole power doe that worke, but they reſerve at firſt, or afterwards it is granted them (which is all one) a hand of concurrence therein, that they will be bound by no Lawes, but what they joyne with him in the making of. Thirdly, becauſe though the Nobles may perſonally convene, yet the Commons (being ſo many) cannot well come together by themſelves to the doing of ſuch a worke, it be alſo agreed, that every Corporation of the Commons ſhall have power to depute one or more to be for the whole in this publike legiſlative buſineſſe; that ſo the Nobles by themſelves, the Commons by their Deputies aſſembling, there may be repreſentatively the whole body, having Commiſſion to execute that reſerved authority for eſtabliſhing new Lawes. Fourthly, becauſe the occaſion and need of making new Lawes, and authentick expounding the old, would not be conſtant and perpetuall, and it would carry an appearance of a Government in which were three Heads and chiefe Powers, they did not ſtabliſh theſe Eſtates

to

to be constantly existent, but occasionally, as the causes for which they were ordained should emerge and happen to be. Fifthly, because a Monarchy was intended and therefore a Supremacy of power (as farre as possible) must be reserved for one, it was concluded that these two Estates should be Assemblies of his Subjects, sworne to him, and all former Lawes; the new, which by agreement of Powers should be enacted, were to be his Lawes, and they bound to obey him in them as soone as established: And being supposed that he who was to governe by the Lawes, and for the furtherance of whose Government the new Lawes were to be made, should best understand when there was need, and the assembling and dissolving the two Estates meeting, was a power of great priviledge, it was put into the Princes hand by writ to convocate and bring to existence, and to adjourne and dismisse such meetings Sixthly, in processe of time Princes not caring much to have their Government looked into, or to have any power in act but their own, took advantage of this power of convocating those Estates, and did more seldome then need required make use of it; whereon provision was made, and a time set within which an Assembly of Parliament was to be had. Now when you have made these suppositions in your minde, you have the very modell and platforme of this Monarchy, and we shall easily find what to answer to the arguments before produced on either side. For first it is his Parliament, because an assembly of his subjects, convocated by his Writ, to be his Councell, to assist him in making Lawes for him to govern by: yet not his, as other Courts are altogether deriving their whole authority from the fulnesse which is in him. Also his power of assembling and dissolving proves him thus far above them, because in their existence they depend on him; but their power and authority *quoad specificationem*, the being and kind of it, is from originall constitution: for they expect no Commission and authority from him, more then for their meeting and reducing into existence; but existing, they worke according to the priviledges of their constitution, their acts proceeding from their conjunct authority with the Kings, not from

its ſubordination to the Kings. The oath of Allegeance binds them, and reſpects them as his ſubjects, to obey him, governing according to eſtabliſhed Lawes: it ſuppoſes and is built upon the foundations of this Government, and muſt not be interpreted to overthrow them. He is thereby acknowledged to be ſupreme ſo far as to rule them by Lawes already made; not ſo far as to make Lawes without them, ſo that it is no derogation to their power; and I beleeve of theſe things none can make any queſtion. Therein conſiſts the accurate Judgement of the Contrivers of this Forme, they have given ſo much into the hands of the ſoveraign as to make him truly a Monarch; and they have reſerved ſo much in the hands of the two Eſtates, as to enable them to preſerve their owne liberty.

CHAP. IIII.

Queſt. 4. *How farre forth it is mixed; and what parts of the Power are referred to a mixed Principle?*

I Shall be the briefer in this, becauſe an anſwer to it may be eaſily collected out of the precedent Queſtions: for he who knowes how farre this Government is limited, will ſoon diſcerne how farre it is mixed, for the Limitation is moſtly affected by the mixture: but diſtinctly, I conceive that there are three parts of the power referred to the joint concourſe of all three Eſtates: So that either of them not conſenting or ſuſpending its influence the reſt cannot reduce that power ordinarily and legally into act.

Three points of mixture.

1. The firſt is the Nomotheticall power, underſtanding by it the power of making, and authentick expounding Lawes. ſo that I believe an act cannot have the nature and forme of a Law of the Land, if it proceed from any one, or two of theſe, without the poſitive concurrence of the third.

2. Secondly, The power of impoſing taxes and payments on mens eſtates: that the King by himſelf cannot aſſume mens properties

properties by requiring impositions not granted him by Law, is often contested: And that the other Estates cannot doe it by themselves, I conceive it as unquestionable: For it were strange to give that to the secondary and assisting Powers, which is denied to the Soveraigne and principall. If it be objected that every Corporation electing Deputies, and authorizing them to be *vicegerens Communitatis*, do thereby grant them power, and entrust them as to make laws to bind them, so to dispose of any part of their estate, either by rate or payment for the publique good: I answer, that they are by that deputation enabled as for one, so for the other; that is, according to the fundamentall usuage of the Kingdome; that is, by the joint consent of the other estates, for though the house of Commons is chosen by the people, and they represent the people, yet the representation doth not give them a power which was not in the people. Now the people have no power to doe an act which either directly, or by consequence doth put it in the will and pleasure of any one or two of the Estates, to overthrow the other: But this power of opening and shutting the Purse of the Kingdome is such a power, that if it be in one or two of the Estates, without the third, then they by that power might necessitate that other to doe any act, or disable it from its owne defence. This and the Legislative power have such a neerneſse, that they cannot be divided, but must be in the same subject: this is so great a power, that put it absolutely in any Estate single, you make that Estate in effect absolute, making the rest dependent and beholding to it for their subsistence.

Thirdly, the power of dispatching the affaires of the Kingdome which are of greatest difficulty and weight, the *ardua regni*, which the Writ for convocating the other Estates doth mention, supposing thereby that such difficulties are not to be dispatched by the power of one alone; for if they were, why then are the two other convocated to be assisting? I acknowledge many matters of great moment may be done by the Regall power, and in such case it may be said, that the other Estates are gathered *ad modum assistendum*, that the advise and sense of the Community may be for direction. 3.

ction. But I conceive there be two ſorts of affaires, which ought not to be tranſacted without the concurrence of all three. Firſt, ſuch as concerne the publike ſafety and weale, ſo far as ſtable detriment or advantage comes to the whole body by the well or ill carriage thereof; for then there is the ſame reaſon as in making new Lawes: For why was not the power of making any new Lawes left in the hands of one, but reſerved for the concurrence of all three? ſave becauſe the end of the Architects was, that no new thing which was of ſo much concernment as the ſtable good and dammage of the Kingdome, ſhould be introduced without the conſent and advice of the whole: ſo that if any buſineſſe be of that moment, that it is equipollent to a Law in the publike intereſt, it ſhould be managed by ſuch an authority and way as that is. Secondly, ſuch as introduce a neceſſity of publike charge, be it matter of War or elſe, if to the effecting of it the Purſe of the Kingdome be required, it is evident that it ought to be done by the concurrence of all, becauſe they onely jointly (as appeares before) have power to impoſe a publike charge on the eſtates of men. And it were all one to put the power of our eſtates in the hands of one, as to put the power of ſuch undertakings in his ſole hands, which of neceſſity bring after them an engagement of publike expence.

Chap. V.

Queſt. 5. *How far forth the two Eſtates may oppoſe and reſiſt the will of the Monarch?*

Sect. 1. THis Queſtion is in the generall already handled in the firſt Part, ſo that it will be eaſie to draw thoſe Anſwers there to this particular here: Therefore conformably to what I then affirmed, I will anſwere this Queſtion by divers Poſitions.

Poſ. 1. First, the Monarch working according to his power, not exceeding

exceeding the Authority which God and the Lawes have conferred on him, is no way to be oppoſed either by any or all his Subjects, but in conſcience to Gods ordinance obeyed. This is granted on all ſides.

Secondly, if the will and command of the Monarch exceed the limits of the Law, it ought for the avoidance of ſcandall and offence be ſubmitted to, ſo it be not contrary to Gods Law, nor bring with it ſuch an evill to our ſelves, or the publike, that we cannot be acceſſary to it by obeying. This alſo will find no oppoſition. Diſobedience in light caſes, in which we are not bound, makes an appearance of ſlighting the power, and is a diſreſpect to the perſon of the Magiſtrate. Therefore Chriſt, to avoyd ſuch offenſe, would pay tribute, though he tells *Peter*, He was free, and need not have done it. Poſ. 2.

Thirdly, if hee command a thing which the Law gives him no authority to command, and it be ſuch as would bee inconvenient to obey, in this caſe obedience may lawfully be denied: This alſo findes allowance from them which ſtand moſt for royall power. Doctor *Ferne* in his Preface acknowledges obedience to be limited and circumſcribed by the eſtabliſhed Lawes of the Land, and accordingly to bee yeelded or denied. And *Sect.* 1. ſayes he, *We may and ought to deny obedience to ſuch commands of the Prince as are unlawfull by the Law of God, yea by the eſtabliſhed Laws of the land.* Here he ſayes more then we ſay; yea more then ſhould be ſaid, as appeares in the ſecond Poſition: it is not univerſally true, that we ought. Poſ. 3.

Fourthly, if he exceed the limits of the Law, and proceed in courſes illegall, meanes there are which it is agreed upon the Subjects may uſe to reduce him to legall Government; ſo much Doctor *Ferne* allowes *Sect.* 4. Cries to God, Petition to the Prince, Deniall of Obedience, Deniall of Subſidie, &c. Poſ. 4.

Fifthly but the point in controverſie is about poſitive and forcible reſiſtance, the lawfulneſſe of which ſome doe utterly deny, and others doe as confidently maintaine: but yet this point might be brought to a narrower ſtate then in Poſ. 5.

the confuſed handling of it, it uſually is: by diſtinguiſhing twix't forceable reſiſtence uſed againſt the Kings own perſon, or againſt inferiour Officers and Inſtruments adviſing to, or executing the illegall commands.

Sect. 2. For the firſt, as I have before expreſſed my ſelfe, force ought not to be uſed againſt the perſon of the Soveraigne, on any pretence whatever, by any or all his ſubjects; even in limited and mixed Monarchies: for if they be truly Monarchs, they are irrevocably inveſted with Soveraignty, which ſets their perſons above all lawfull power and force. Alſo the Soveraign power being ſo conferred on that perſon: The perſon and power cannot be really ſundred, but the force which is uſed to the one, muſt alſo violate the other: for power is not in the Soveraigne as it is in inferiour Officers: as water is otherwiſe in the ſpring then in the channells, and pipes deriving it: It is not inſeperably in them, and therfore they offending, force may be uſed againſt them without violation of the Ordinance of Authority. Theſe Arguments prove it unlawfull in any: That which the Dr. brings, I approve as ſtrong againſt all private force, where he allowes defence againſt the perſon of the Prince himſelfe, ſo farre as to ward his blowes, but not to returne blowes, no though for naturall defence: becauſe the Common-Wealth is concerned in his perſon, *Sect.* 2. And to divert a private evill by inducing a publique, is unjuſt and unlawfull: ſo that for this point of force againſt the perſon of the Prince: I thinke there ought to be no contention. If any have bin ſo raſh to hold it lawfull on theſe grounds, that the whole Kingdome is above him becauſe they make him King, and that by miſcarriage he may make a forfeiture, and ſo lay himſelfe open to force: I do iudge theſe grounds very inſufficient: unles the Kingdome reſerve a ſuperiority to it ſelf, or there be a fundamentall clauſe of forfeiture on ſpecified cauſes; and then it is not properly a Monarchy: but all this hath been already handled in the generall Part.

Secondly, for Inſtruments of oppreſsion of publique liberty if the wrong be deſtructive, and no other meanes of preven-

prevention, but force be left: I am perſwaded it may be uſed, and poſitive reſiſtence made againſt them; And if I find any contradiction from the moſt rigid Patrones of Royalty, it muſt be only in this point. And here I muſt complaine of the indiſtinct dealing of that Doctor in this matter; who mingleth both theſe points together: and ſcarce ſpeakes any thing to reſolve mens conſciences in this: But ſpeakes either in generall, or elſe of force againſt the Princes owne perſon: Whereas I thinke, the caſe which ſticks moſt on the conſcience at this time, is this latter: Of oppoſing, mi-leading and miſ-imployed ſubjects, which he ſpeaks very little to. Nay, he ſeems to me, after all his diſclaiming of reſiſtence, to come home to us, and though ſparingly, yet to aſſent to lawfullnes of reſiſtence in this point. For *Sect.* 2. ſpeaking of *David's* guard of armed men: He ſaies, It was to ſecure his perſon againſt the cut-throats of *Saul*, if ſent to take away his life: He meanes to ſecure it by force, for Souldiers are for force: He meanes no negative ſecuring by flight, for that may be done even againſt *Saul* himſelfe: but he ſpeaks of ſuch a ſecuring, which might only be againſt cut-throats. So then he grants ſecuring by force againſt theſe: But they went on *Saul's* command, and moſtly with his preſence. Againe, in the inſtance of *Eliſha*, he ſeemes to acknowledge lawfullneſſe of perſonall defence againſt the ſudden and illegall aſſaults of Meſſengers, he means by force, for he ſpeaks of ſuch which he will not allow in publique, which can be underſtood of none, but by force: But it appears the Doctor in his whole diſcourſe hath avoided this point of reſiſtence of miſ-imployed ſubjects; which yet is the alone point which would have given ſatisfaction: for before it appeares, we agree in all the reſt, and in this too for ought I know, he having not diſtinctly ſaid any thing againſt it.

Now concerning this caſe of forceable reſiſtence of inferiour perſons miſ-imployed to ſerve the illegall deſtructive commands of the Prince, I will doe two things. 1. I will maintaine my *Aſſertion* by convincing Arguments. 2. I will ſhew the invalidity of what is ſaid againſt it.

Sect. 3. *Whether reſiſtence of Inſtruments of will be lawfull?*

Assert. 1. This then is my *Assertion*: The two Estates in Parliament may lawfully by force of Armes resist any persons or number of persons advising or assisting the King in the performance of a command illegall and destructive to themselves, or the publique.

Arg. 1. 1. Because that force is lawfull to be used for the publique conservation which is no resistence of the Ordinance of God; for that is the reason condemning the resistence of the Powers: Now this is no resistence of Gods Ordinance: For by it neither the person of the Soveraigne is resisted, nor his power: Not his person, for we speak of Agents imployed, not of his own person: Nor his power; For the meature of that, in our Government, is acknowledged to be the Law: And therefore he cannot confer Authority to any beyond Law: so that those Agents deriving no Authority from him: are meere Instruments of his Will: Unauthorized persons; in their assaults Robbers, and, as Dr. *Ferne* calls them, Cut-throats. If the case be put, What if the Soveraigne himselfe in person be present with such Assaylants, joining his personall assistence in the execution of his Commands? It is much to be lamented, that the will of the Prince should be so impetuous in any subverting Act, as to hazzard his own person in the prosecution of it. Yet supposing such a case, all councells and courses must be taken, that no violence be offered to his person, and Profession of none intended: But no reason the presence of his person should priviledge ruining Instruments from suppression, and give them an immunity to spoil and destroy subjects, better themselves; His person being secured from wrong; His power cannot be violated in such an Act, in which none of it can be conferred on the Agents. And sure *David*, though he avoided laying hands or using any violence against the person of *Saul*, and on no extremity would have done it: Yet for the Cut-throats about him, if no other means would have secured him, he would have rescued himselfe by force from their outrage: Though *Saul* was in their company: Else what intended he by all that force of Souldiers: And his enquiry of God at *Keilah*: by which it is plain, He had an intent to have kept the place by force, if the

the people would have ſtuck to him: Neither is it to the purpoſe which the Dr. ſaies, *Sect.* 2. That his example was extraordinary, becauſe he was anointed and deſigned to ſucceed *Saul*, for that being but a deſignation, did not exempt him from the duty of ſubjection for the preſent, or leſſen it, as is plain by the great conſcience he made of not touching *Saul*: But he knew it was one thing to violate *Sauls* Perſon and Power, and another to reſiſt thoſe Inſtruments of Tyranny, the Cut-throats which were about him.

Secondly, Becauſe without ſuch power of reſiſtence in the hands of ſubjects, all diſtinction and limitation of Government is vain: and all formes reſolve into abſolute and arbitrary; for that is ſo, which is unlimited; and that is unlimited, not onely which hath no limits ſet: but alſo which hath no ſufficient Limits, for to be reſtrained from doing what I will, by a power which can reſtrain me no longer nor otherwiſe then I will, is all one, as if I were left at my own Will. I take this to be cleare: Now it is as cleare, that without this forceable reſiſtence of Inſtruments of uſurped power be lawfull, no ſufficient limits can be to the Princes Will, and all Lawes bounding him are to no purpoſe. This appeares by enumerating the other meanes, Prayer to God: Petition to the Prince: Deniall of obedience: Deniall of Subſidie: a moderate uſe of the power of denying as Doctor *Ferne* calls it: Theſe are all: but what are theſe to hinder, if a Prince be minded to overthrow all, and bring the whole Government to his own Will? For Prayer, and Petition, theſe are put in to fill up the number: They are no limitations, they may be uſed in the moſt abſolute Monarchy; for deniall of obedience, that may keep me from being an Inſtrument of publique ſervitude; but Princes Wills never want them which will yeild obedience, if I deny it: Yea enough to deſtroy all the reſt, if nothing be left them but to ſuffer: Then for deniall of Subſidie, if he may by thouſands of Inſtruments take all, or what he, or they pleaſe, and I muſt not reſiſt: what need he care whether the people deny or grant: If a Prince be taught, that he may do it: caſes and reaſons will ſoon be brought to perſwade him, that in them Arg. 2.

he may lawfully doe it; as late experiences have given us too much Teſtimonie: Thus it is apparent, that the deniall of this Power of Reſiſtence of Inſtruments overthrowes and makes invalid all Government, but that which is abſolute: and reduces the whole world *de jure* to an abſolute ſubjection, that is, ſervitude: for the end of all conſtitution of moderated forms is not that the ſupreme power might not lawfully exorbitate, but that it might have no power to exorbitate.

The Dr. is conſcious hereof; and therefore tells us in his *Sect.* 5. This is the very reaſon which is made for the Popes power of curbing and depoſing Kings in caſe of hereſie: becauſe elſe the Church, ſaies the *Apoſt*, hath no meanes for the maintenance of the Catholique Faith, and its own ſafety: But who ſees not the vaſt difference 'twixt theſe two? and that the ſame reaſon may be concluding here, which is apparently *non* concluding there; For 1. They thereby would draw to the *Pope* an authoritative power: we no ſuch ſuperiour power: but only a power of reſiſtence for ſelf-conſervation which nature and the Law of reaſon gives to every one; and may ſtand with the condition of ſubjection and inferiority. 2. They on this reaſon give the *Pope* a Power over the very perſon of the King; we only of reſiſting of unauthorized invading deſtroyers, comming under the colour of an authority which is not in the Soveraigne to be derived. 3. They prove a civill right for ſpirituall reaſons, we onely for civill reaſons. 4. The Church and the faith are conſtituted in their very formall being from Chriſt himſelfe, who is the head and great Shepheard immediately in his owne perſon: and as it is his owne family; ſo he keeps the power of preſerving it in his owne hands; having made direct and particular promiſes to aſſure us of their upholding againſt all ſubvertion, by his own power: ſo that here is aſſurance enough, without viſible meanes of force for a ſpirituall body, which lives by faith. But in a civill State there is no ſuch aſſurance, nor ſupporting promiſes: power onely in the undefined being of it, being Gods immediate Ordinance, and not in this ſpecificated or determinate being: wherefore it

hath

hath no ſuch immediate proviſion made for its preſervation no promiſe of a divine power for its ſtanding: but as it is left by God to mens wildome to contrive the frame, ſo to their providence to eſtabliſh meanes of preſervation. As the body is outward and Civill, ſo the upholding meanes muſt be ſuch; ſpirituall and infallibly aſſuring a Formed State hath not, as the Church and Faith have; if there be none of outward force and power neither, then none at all it hath, and is in ill caſe indeed. But there is an art full of venome, when a truth can not bee beaten downe by juſt reaſoning, then to make it odious by hatefull compariſons: ſo in this caſe aſperſions are caſt, as if the Patrons of Reſiſtence did borrow the Popiſh and Jeſuiticall grounds, and their Poſitions as dangerous to Kings, as the Jeſuites hell-bred and bloudy Principles: whereas it appeares by all this diſcourſe, and I am perſwaded is written in Capitall Letters in the very Conſcience of them which deſpitefully object it, that there is no congruity at all 'twixt their Doctrines, no more then 'twixt Light and Darkneſſe.

Thirdly, becauſe ſuch power is due to a publike State for its preſervation, as is due to a particular perſon: But every particular perſon may lawfully by force reſiſt illegall deſtructive Miniſters, though ſent by the command of a legall Soveraigne, provided no other meanes of ſelfe-preſervation be enough. This Aſſumption the Doctor ſeemes to grant; he denies it to be lawfull againſt the Perſon of the Prince, but in effect yeelds it againſt ſubordinate perſons: But the main is againſt the Propoſition, and the Doctor is ſo heavie a friend to the State that he thinkes it not fit to allow it that liberty he gives every private man. But whoſe Judgement will concurre with his herein, I cannot imagine; for ſure the Reaſon is greater, the publike ſafety being far more precious, and able to ſatiſfie the dammages of a publike reſiſtence, then one particular mans is of a private. But of this more in anſwer to his Reaſons. Arg. 3.

Fourthly, becauſe it is a power put into the two Eſtates by the very reaſon of their Inſtitution; and therefore they not onely may, but alſo ought to uſe it for publike ſafety: yea Arg. 4.

they

they ſhould betray the very truſt repoſed in them by the Fundamentals of the Kingdome if they ſhould not. An authority Legiſlative they have: Now to make Lawes and to preſerve Lawes are acts of the ſame power; yea, if three powers jointly have intereſt in making of Lawes, ſurely either of theſe ſeverally have, and ought to uſe that power in preſerving them. Alſo that the authority which the Houſes have is as well given them for preſerving the government by eſtabliſhed lawes, as for eſtabliſhment of lawes to govern by, is a truth proved by the conſtant uſe of their power to that end, in correcting the exorbitance of inferiour Courts, queſtioning delinquent Judges and Officers of State for violations, and much is done in this kinde by the ſole authority of the Houſes, without the concurrence or expectance of Royall power: ſo then, ſuppoſing they have ſuch an authority for ſafety of publike Government, to queſtion and cenſure inferiour Officers for tranſgreſſions, though pretending the Kings authority, can it be denied but that their authority will beare them out to uſe forcible reſiſtence againſt ſuch, be they more or fewer.

Arg. 5.

Fifthly, the Kings Warrant under his hand exempts not a Malefactor from the cenſure of a Court of Juſtice, nor puniſhment impoſed by Law, but the Judge muſt proceed againſt him according to Law: for the Law is the Kings publike and authoritative Will; but a private Warrant to doe an unlawfull act, is his private and unauthoritative Will: wherefore the Judge ought to take no notice of ſuch Warrant, but to deale with the Offendor as no other then a private man. This proves that ſuch Inſtruments thus illegally warranted, are not authorized; and therefore their violence may be by force reſiſted, as the aſſaults of private men, by any; and then much rather by the Houſes of Parliament: which, ſuppoſing them divided from the King to have no complete authority, yet ſure they have two parts of the greateſt Legiſlative authority. But I feare I ſhall ſeeme ſuperfluous, in producing Arguments to prove ſo cleare a truth: Is it credible that any one will maintaine ſo abject an eſteeme of their authority, that it will not extend to reſiſtence

ſtence of private men, who ſhould endevour the ſubverſion of the whole frame of Government, on no other Warrant then the Kings Will and Pleaſure? Muſt they be meerly paſſive? Is patience, and the deniall of their Votes to a ſubverſion, all the oppoſition they muſt uſe, if a King (which God forbid) ſhould on his Royall pleaſure ſend Cut-throats to deſtroy them as they ſit in their Houſes? Is all their authority (if the King deſert them or worſe) no more then to Petition, and ſuffer; and by a moderate uſe of their power of denying, diſſent from being willing to be deſtroyed? If power of reſiſting by force of ſubverters armed by the Kings Will (for by his Authority they cannot) be unlawfull for them, all theſe abſurdities muſt follow: yea, the vileſt Inſtrument of Oppreſſion, ſhewing but a Warrant from the King to beare him out, may range and rage all his dayes through a Kingdome, to waſte and ſpoile, taxe and diſtraine, and at utmoſt of his inſolence muſt have no more done to him by the Parliament it ſelfe, then to ſtay his hand, as the baſeſt Servant may his Maſters, or the meaneſt Subject the Kings owne hand; by the Doctors own confeſſion. Conſider then and admire, if any men of learning will deny this power of forcible reſiſtence of Miniſters, of ſubverting commands to be lawfull. I have thus far confirmed my aſſertion, not that I finde any openly oppoſing it, but becauſe the Doctor and ſome other ſeeme to have a mind that way, and doe ſtrike at it, though not profeſſedly and in open diſpute.

For the ſeverall proofes brought in behalfe of Reſiſtence, ſome of them prove as much as is here aſſerted; others are not to the purpoſe. Particularly, that of the Peoples reſcuing *Jonathan* from his Fathers bloudy reſolution proves lawfulneſſe of hindering unreaſonable ſelf-deſtructive purpoſes, even in abſolute Monarchies, if it prove any thing. That of *Uzzah's* thruſting out by the Prieſts, is not to the purpoſe: but *Davids* raiſing and keeping Forces about him, and his purpoſe at *Keilah*, proves the point directly. *viz.* Lawfulneſſe of forcible reſiſtance of Cut-throats, even though *Saul* himſelfe were in preſence: This the Doctor ſees plainly, and therefore ſhuffles it off, by ſaying, *His example is extraordi-*

nary; as if he were not a preſent Subject, becauſe he was deſigned by Gods revealed counſell to be a future King. And he confeſſes *Eliſha's* example of ſhutting the doore againſt the Kings meſſenger proves perſonall defenſe againſt ſudden illegall aſſaults of meſſengers, which is the thing in Queſtion.

Sect 4. *Arguments on the contrary diſſolved.*

Let us now view the ſtrength of what is ſaid againſt reſiſtence whether any thing comes home againſt this Aſſertion. The Doctors proofes from the old Teſtament come not to the matter: *Moſes*, and afterwards the Kings, were of Gods particular deſignation, ſetting them abſolutely over the people, on no condition or limitation; ſo that did they prove any thing, yet they concerne not us, reſpecting a Government of another nature. But particularly, that of *Corah* and the Princes rebelling againſt *Moſes*, is not to the matter; it was a reſiſtence of *Moſes* owne Perſon and Office; and doubtleſſe penury of other proofes cauſed this and the reſt here to be alledged: For that 1 *Sam.* 8 18. how inconſequent is it, to ſay, the people ſhould cry unto the Lord, therefore they had no other meanes to helpe them but cries to God; though (I confeſſe) in that Monarchy they had not. That ſpeech 1 *Sam.* 26 9. was moſt true there, and is as true here, but not to the purpoſe, being ſpoken of the Kings owne Perſon. But the maine authority brought againſt reſiſtence, is that *Rom.* 13. and on that Doctor *Ferne* builds his whole diſcourſe: Let us therefore ſomething more largely conſider what is deduced out of that Text. Firſt, he ſuppoſes the King to be the *Supreme* in Saint *Peter*, and the *Higher power* in Saint *Paul*. Secondly, hee collects *All perſons*, every ſoule is forbidden to reſiſt. Thirdly, that then was a ſtanding Senate, which not long before had the ſupreme Power in the Romane State: It is confeſſed; but that they could challenge more at that time when Saint *Paul* writ, then our great Councell will or can, I deny: For that State devolving into Monarchy by Conqueſt, they were brought under an Abſolute Monarchy, the Senate it ſelfe ſwearing full ſubjection to the Prince; his Edicts and Acts of Will were Lawes, and the Senates conſent onely *pro forma*, and at pleaſure

ſure required. He who reads *Tacitus* cannot but ſee the Senate brought to a condition of baſeſt ſervitude, and all Lawes and Lives depending on the will of the Prince: I wonder then the Doctor ſhould make ſuch a parallel. Indeed the Senate had been far more then ever our Parliaments were or ought to be: but now that was far leſſe then our Parliament hath been, or (I hope) ever will be: They were become the ſworne Vaſſals of an abſolute Emperour, ours the ſworne Subjects of a Liege or Legall Prince. Fourthly, he ſayes, then was more cauſe of Reſiſtence, when Kings were Enemies to Religion, and had overthrown Lawes and Liberties. I anſwere, There were no cauſes for Reſiſtence: Not their enmity to Religion, had they but a legall power, becauſe Religion then was no part of the Laws and ſo its violation no ſubverſion of eſtabliſhed government. And for the overthrow of Lawes and Liberties, that was paſt and done, and the government new, the Senate and all the reſt actually ſworne to abſolute Principality: Now an Ordinance of abſolute Monarchy was conſtituted, the ſacred bond of an Oath had made it inviolate. But what would he inferre hence, all being granted him? Sure this he doth intend, That every ſoule among us ſeverall, and conjoyned in a Senate, muſt be ſubject for conſcience, muſt not reſiſt, under paine of Damnation: All this, and what ever beſides he can juſtly infer out of that Text, we readily grant: But can any living man hence collect, that therefore no reſiſtence may be made to fellow-ſubjects, executing deſtructive illegall acts of the Princes will in a legall Monarchy? Will he affirme that the Ordinance of God is reſiſted, and Damnation incurred thereby? Gods Ordinance is the Power, and the Perſon inveſted with that power; but here force is offered to neither, as before I have made it appeare. And herein we have B. *Bilſon* conſenting, where he ſayes, that *the ſuperiour power here forbidden to be reſiſted, is not the Princes will againſt his Lawes, but agreeing with his Lawes.* I thinke the day it ſelfe is not more cleare then this ſatisfaction, to all that can bee concluded out of that Text: ſo the foundation of all that diſcourſe is taken from it, if his intent were thence to prove

Biſſon of ſubjection p. 94, 95.

unlawfulneſſe of Reſiſtence of Inſtruments of Arbitrarineſſe in this Kingdome.

Let us alſo conſider the force of his Reaſons, whether they impugne this point in hand. He ſayes, ſuch power of reſiſtence would be no fit meanes of ſafety to a State, but prove a remedy worſe then the diſeaſes. His Reaſons, firſt, becauſe it doth tend to the overthrow of that order, which is the life of a Common-wealth; it would open a way to People, upon the like pretences, to reſiſt and even overthrow power duly adminiſtred. 2 It may proceed to a change of government. 3. It is accompanied with the evills of Civill-Warre. 4. On the ſame ground the two Houſes proceed againſt the King, may the people proceed to reſiſtence againſt them; accuſing them not to diſcharge their truſt. Laſtly, ſeeing ſome muſt be truſted in every State. It is reaſon the higheſt and finall truſt, ſhould be in the higheſt power. Theſe are his main reaſons on which he builds his concluſion againſt reſiſtence.

To his firſt, I ſay it were ſtrange if reſiſtence of diſtructive diſorder ſhould tend to the overthrow of Order: It may for the time diſturbe, as Phyſick while it is in working diſturbes the naturall bodie, if the peccant humors make ſtrong oppoſition: but ſure it tends to health, and ſo doth this reſiſtence of diſorder to Order. Neither would it open a way for the people to violate the Powers; for doing right can open no way to the doing of wrong. If any wicked ſeditious ſpirits ſhould make uſe of the Vail of Juſtice to cover unnaturall Rebellion: Shall a peoples right and liberty be taken from them to prevent ſuch poſsible abuſe? Rather let the foulneſſe of ſuch pretences diſcover it ſelfe, ſo God and good men will abhorre them: ſuch Cloakes of Rebellion have in former ages been taken off, and the Authors brought to juſt confuſion, without the expence of the liberties of this Kingdome.

To the ſecond; muſt not Inſtruments be reſiſted, which actually intend, and ſeeked a chang of Government: becauſe ſuch reſiſtence may proceed to a chang of Government? Is not an unlikely poſsibility of change to be hazarded, rather then

then a certaine one ſuffered? But I ſay, It cannot proceed to a chang of Government, unles it exceed the meaſure of lawfull reſiſtence: yea it is impoſsible, that reſiſtence of Inſtruments ſhould ever proceed to a change of Government; for that includeth the greateſt reſiſtence and violation of the perſon and power of the Monarch, the lawfullneſſe of which I utterly diſclaime.

Thirdly, it is not ever accompanied with the evills of Civill Warre: But when the Princes Will findes enough Inſtruments of their Countreys ruine to raiſe it. And then the miſchiſe of that war muſt light on thoſe which raiſe it: But ſuppoſe it may enſue, yet a temporary evill of war is to be choſen rather then a perpetuall loſſe of liberty, and ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed frame of a Government.

In the fourth, I deny the parity of reaſon: for the two Houſes are bodies conſtituted and endowed with legiſlative authority, and truſt of preſervation of the frame, by the Fundamentalls of the Kingdome: which the people out of thoſe Houſes are not. Againe the Government being compoſed of a threefold conſenting power, one to reſtraine the exorbitance of another: All three together are abſolute and equivalent to the power of the moſt abſolute Monarch: The concurrent Will of all three, makes a Law, and ſo it is the Kingdomes Law.

To the laſt, I anſwer, In every State ſome muſt be truſted, and the higheſt truſt is in him who hath the Supreame power: Theſe two, the Supreame Truſt, and the Supreame Power are inſeperable: And ſuch as the power is, ſuch is the truſt: An abſolute power ſuppoſes an abſolute truſt: A Power allayed with the annexion of another power as here it is, ſuppoſeth a truſt of the ſame nature. A joynt truſt, yet ſaving the ſupremacie of the Monarch, ſo far forth as it may be ſaved, and not be abſolute and the others authority nullified. It may be further argued: that it being the Prerogative Royall to have the managing of the ſword, that is, legall force, in the Kingdome; none can, on any pretence whatever uſe lawfull force, either againſt him, or any, but by his Will: for it is committed to him by law, and to none but

How farre forth the ſword is in the hand of the Monarch?

but whom he aſsignes it to: ſo that the Lawes of the Kingdome putting all power of force and Armes into his truſt, have placed him, and all thoſe who ſerve him, in a ſtate of irreſiſtiblenes in reſpect of any lawfull force. This is a point much ſtood on and on this ground, the Parliament now aſſuming the diſpoſing of the *Militia* by an Ordinance, it is complained on, as a uſurping of what the Law hath committed to the King as his Prerogative; The oppoſing of which Ordinance by a Commiſsion of *Array*, was the beginning of this miſerable Civill-Warre. I will diſtinctly lay down my Anſwer hereto, ſubmitting it to every impartiall judgement.

Poſ. 1. 1. The power of the Sword being for defence of the Lawes, by puniſhing violators, and protecting ſubjects, it is ſubſervient to Government, and muſt needs belong to him who is entruſted with the Government, as a neceſſarie requiſite without which he cannot performe his truſt.

Poſ. 2. 2. As it is an appendix to the power of Government, and goes along with it, ſo it goes under the ſame termes: belonging to the Prince, as the other doth: *ſc.* abſolutely, to uſe at will, where the Monarchie is abſolute; or with limitation, to uſe according to Law, where the Monarchy is limited: ſo that, in this Government the Armes and ſword of the Kingdome is the Kings, to a defined uſe committed to him; *viz.* For defence of the Lawes and Frame of Government eſtabliſhed, and not for arbitrary purpoſes, or to enable Miniſters to execute commands of meer Will.

Poſ. 3. 3. The two Houſes in virtue of the Legiſlative authority, in part reſiding in them, are intereſted in the preſervation of Lawes and Government, as well as the King: And in caſe, the King ſhould miſimploy that power of Arms to ſtrengthen ſubverting Inſtruments: Or in caſe the Lawes and government be in apparent danger, the King refuſing to uſe the ſword to that end of preſervation for which it was committed to him: I ſay, in this caſe, the two Eſtates may by extraordinary and temporary Ordinance aſſume thoſe Armes, wherewith the King is entruſted, and performe the Kings truſt: And though ſuch Ordinance of theirs is not for-

formally legall, yet it is eminently legall, justified by the very intent of the Architects of the Government, when for these uses they committed the Armes to the King. And no doubt they may command the strength of the Kingdome to save the being of the Kingdome: for none can reasonably imagine the Architectonicall Powers, when they committed the power of government and Armes to one to preserve the Frame they had composed, did thereby intend to disable any, much lesse the two Estates, from preserving it, in case the King should faile to doe it in this last need. And thus doing the Kings Worke, it ought to be interpreted as done by his Will: because as the Law is his Will, so that the Law should be preserved is his Will, which he expressed when he undertooke the government: 'Tis his deliberate Will, and ought to be done, though at any time he oppose by an after-Will, for that is his sudden Will, as Doctor *Ferne* himselfe *Sect.* 1. doth teach us to distinguish.

Chap. VI.

In what cases the other Estates may, without or against the Kings Personall consent, assume the Armes of the Kingdome? Quest. 6.

WHo ever were the Authors of that Booke lately published, stiled, *Scripture and Reason pleaded for defensive Armes*, have laid new and over-large grounds for resistence. Two Assertions they endevour to maintaine: First, *those Governours (whether supreme or others) who under pretence of authority from Gods Ordinance, disturb the quiet and peaceable life in Godlinesse and Honesty, are farre from being Gods Ordinance in so doing*, Sect. 3. Secondly, *This Tyranny not being Gods Ordinance, they which resist it, even with Armes, resist not the Ordinance of God.* Hereon, *Sect.* 4. they free Christians, even in the Apostles time, and so under the Romane Emperours, or any other Sect. 1. *Whether it be lawfull to take up armes against the Magistrate, perverting his power to a wrong end?*

other Government, from neceſſity of paſſive ſubjection in caſe of perſecution; affirming, that the Chriſtians in thoſe firſt Perſecutions, had they been ſtrong enough, might have uſed Armes for defence againſt the Tyranny of their Emperours. Their ground is from the Reaſons uſed by the Apoſtle *Rom.* 13. where he commands ſubjection, & forbids reſiſtence to the higher power, becauſe *they are Gods ordinance, his Miniſters for praiſe to well-doers, for terrour to evill doers.* But I muſt profeſſe my ſelf to diſſent from them in this opinion, conceiving that the Apoſtle in urging thoſe Reaſons drawne from the due ends of Power, doth intend to preſſe them to ſubjection by ſhewing them what benefit comes to men by authority in its due uſe; and not to ſhew them how far they are bound to be ſubject, and in what caſes they may reſiſt: For had he ſuch a meaning at that time, when the Governours did altogether croſſe thoſe ends of their Ordination, he had taught them rather a Doctrine of Reſiſtence then Subjection: ſhall we conceive that hee would preſſe ſubjection to Powers in the hands of Heathens and Perſecutors, if he had not intended they ſhould paſſively be ſubject unto them, even under thoſe Perſecutions? Rather I approve the received Doctrine of the Saints in ancient and moderne times, who could never finde this licence in that place of the Apoſtle: and doe concurre with Maſter *Burroughs*, profeſſing againſt reſiſtence of authority, though abuſed: *if thoſe* (ſaies he) *who have power to make Lawes, make ſinfull Lawes, and ſo give authority to any to force obedience we ſay here there muſt be either flying, or paſſive Obedience.* And againe, *We acknowledge we muſt not reſiſt for Religion, if the Lawes of the land be againſt it.* But what doe they ſay againſt this? In making ſuch Lawes againſt Religion the Magiſtrates are not Gods ordinance; and therefore to reſiſt is not to reſiſt Gods ordinance: As an inferiour Magiſtrate, who hath a Commiſſion of Power for ſuch ends, is reſiſtible if hee exceed his Commiſſion, and abuſe his Power for other ends; ſo Princes being Gods Miniſters, and having a deputed Commiſſion from him to ſuch ends, *viz.* the promotion of godlineſſe, Peace, Juſtice, if they pervert their power to contrary ends, may be reſiſted without

Anſw. to Dr. Ferne Sect. 2.

out violation of Gods ordinance. That I may give a ſatiſfactory anſwere to this, which is the ſumme of their long diſcourſe, I muſt lay it downe in ſeverall Aſſertions.

Firſt, I acknowledge Gods ordinance is not onely Power, but Power for ſuch ends, *ſc.* the good of the People. Aſſert. 1.

Secondly, it is alſo Gods ordinance, that there ſhould be in men, by publike conſent called thereto, and inveſted therein, a power to chooſe the meanes, the Lawes, and Rules of government conducing to that end: and a power of Judging in relation to thoſe Lawes, who be the well doers which ought to be praiſed, and who the evill doers who ought to be puniſhed. This is as fully Gods ordinance as the former; for without this the other cannot be performed. Aſſert. 2.

Thirdly, when they who have this finall civill Judicature ſhall cenſure good men as evill doers; or eſtabliſh iniquity by a Law, to the encouragement of evill doers; in this caſe, if it be a ſubordinate Magiſtrate doth it, appeale muſt bee made (as Saint *Paul* did) to the ſupreme; if it be the ſupreme, which through miſtake or corruption doth miſ-cenſure, from whom there lyes no Civill Appeale, then without reſiſtence of that Judgement wee muſt paſſively ſubmit: And he who in his owne knowledge of innocency or goodneſſe of his cauſe ſhall by force reſiſt, that man erects a Tribunal in his owne heart againſt the Magiſtrates Tribunal; cleares himſelfe by a private Judgement againſt a publike, and executes his owne ſentence by force againſt the Magiſtrates ſentence, which hee hath repealed and made void in his owne heart. In unjuſt Cenſures by the higheſt Magiſtrate, from whom there is no Appeale but to God, the ſentence cannot be oppoſed till God reverſe it to whom we have appealed: In the meane time vvee muſt ſuffer, as Chriſt did, notwithſtanding his Appeale, 1 *Pet.* 2. 23. and ſo muſt wee notwithſtanding our Appeale, 1 *Pet.* 4 19. for he did ſo for our example. If an Appeale to God, or a cenſure in the Judgement of the condemned might give him power of reſiſtence, none would be guilty, or ſubmit to the Magiſtrates cenſure any further then they pleaſe. I deſire thoſe Authors, before they ſettle their judgement in ſuch grounds (which I feare Aſſert. 3.

will bring too much ſcandall) to weigh theſe particulars. Firſt, their opinion takes away from the Magiſtrate the chiefe part of Gods ordinance, *ſc.* povver of definitive judgement of Lawes and Perſons, who are the good, and who the bad, to be held ſo in Civill proceedings. Secondly, they juſtifie the Conſcience of Papiſts, Heretickes, and groſſeſt Malefactors to reſiſt the Magiſtrate, in caſe they be perſwaded their cauſe is good. Thirdly, they draw men off from the commands of Patience under perſecution, and conforming to Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in their patient enduring without verball or reall oppoſition, though Chriſt could not have wanted power to have done it, as he tells *Peter*. Fourthly, they deprive the Primitive and Moderne Martyrs of the glory of ſuffering, imputing it either to their ignorance or diſability. Fifthly, it is a wonder, that ſith in Chriſts and his Apoſtles time there was ſo much uſe of this power of reſiſtence, they would by no expreſſe word ſhew the Chriſtians this liberty, but condemne reſiſtence ſo ſeverely. Sixthly, there is in the caſe of the Parliament now taking up Armes no need of theſe offenſive grounds; Religion being now a part of our Nationall Law, and cannot ſuffer but the Law muſt ſuffer with it.

Sect. 2. 1. *When arms ought not to be aſſumed.*

Now to the propoſed Queſtion I anſwere firſt Negatively, *ſc.* 1. It ought not to be done againſt all illegall proceedings, but ſuch which are ſubverſive and unſufferable. Secondly, not publike reſiſtence, but in exceſſes inducing publike evils: for to repell private injuries of higheſt nature with publike hazzard and diſturbance, will not quit coſt, unleſſe in a private caſe the common Liberty be ſtrooke at. Thirdly, not when the government is actually ſubverted, and a new forme (though never ſo injuriouſly) ſet up, and the People already engaged in an Oath of abſolute ſubjection: for the remedy comes too late, and the eſtabliſhment of the new makes the former irrevocable by any juſtifiable power, within the compaſſe of that Oath of God: This was the caſe of the Senate of *Rome* in Saint *Pauls* time. Secondly, affirmatively: I conceive three caſes when the other Eſtates may lawfully

2. *When they may be aſſumed.*

fully assume the force of the Kingdome, the King not joyning, or dissenting, though the same be by Law committed to him. First when there is invasion actually made, or imminently feared by a forraigne Power. Secondly, when by an intestine Faction the Lawes and Frame of government are secretly undermined, or openly assaulted: In both these cases the Being of the Government being endangered, their trust binds, as to assist the King in securing, so to secure it by themselves, the King refusing. In extreme necessities the liberty of Voices cannot take place, neither ought a *Negative Voice* to hinder in this exigence, there being no freedome of deliberation and choice, when the Question is about the last end: Their assuming the sword in these cases is for the King, whose Being (as King) depends on the Being of the Kingdome; and being interpretatively his act, is no disparagement of his Prerogative. Thirdly, in case the Fundamentall Rights of either of the three Estates bee invaded by one or both the rest, the wronged may lawfully assume force for its owne defence; because else it were not free, but dependent on the pleasure of the other. Also the suppression of either of them, or the diminishing of their Fundamentall Rights, carries with it the dissolution of the Government: And therefore those grounds which justifie force to preserve its Being, allowes this case, which is a direct innovation of its Being and Frame.

CHAP. VII.

Where the Legall Power of Finall judging in these cases doth reside, in case the three Estates differ about the same? Quest. 7.

IN this Question (for our more distinct proceeding) some things are necessarily to be observed. First, that we meddle not herewith the judicature of Questions of inferiour nature; Sect. 1. *The Question stated.*

nature; *viz.* ſuch as are 'twixt ſubject and ſubject, or the King and a ſubject, in matter of particular right, which may be decided other way, without detriment of the publike Frame, or diminution of the priviledges of either of the three Eſtates. Secondly difference is to be made even in the Queſtions of utmoſt danger: Firſt, for it may be alledged to be either from without, by invaſion of forrain Enemies; or by a confederacy of inteſtine ſubverters, in which neither of the three Eſtates are alledged to be intereſſed, and ſo the caſe may be judged without relation to either of them, or detriment to their priviledges. Here I conceive a greater latitude of power may be given to ſome to judge without the other; for it inferres not a ſubordinating of any of the three to the other. Secondly, or elſe it may be alledged by one or two of the Eſtates againſt the other, that not contenting it ſelfe with the Powers allowed to it by the Lawes of the Government, it ſeekes to ſwallow up, or entrench on the priviledges of the other, either by immediate endevours, or elſe by protecting and intereſſing it ſelfe in the ſubverſive plots of other men. Thirdly, in this caſe wee muſt alſo diſtinguiſh betwixt, firſt, authority of raiſing Forces for defenſe againſt ſuch ſubverſion, being knowne and evident: ſecondly and authority of judging and finall determining, that the accuſed Eſtate is guilty of ſuch deſigne and endevour of ſubverſion, when it is denied and proteſted againſt. This laſt is the particular in this Queſtion to be conſidered: not whether the People are bound to obey the authority of two, or one of the Legiſlative Eſtates in reſiſting the ſubverſive aſſaies of the other, being apparent and ſelf-evident; which I take in this Treatiſe to be cleare. But when ſuch plea of ſubverſion is more obſcure and queſtionable, which of the three Eſtates hath the power of ultime and ſupreme judicature by Vote or ſentence to determine it againſt the other; ſo that the People are bound to reſt in that determination, and accordingly to give their aſſiſtance, *eo nomine*, becauſe it is by ſuch Power ſo noted and declared?

Determination of the Queſtion.

For my part in ſo great a cauſe, if my earneſt deſire of publique good, and peace, may juſtifie me to deliver my minde,

I will

I will preſcribe to the very Queſtion: for it includes a ſolecisme in government of a mixt temperature: To demand which Estate may challenge this power of finall determination of Fundamentall controverſies ariſing betwixt them is to demand which of them ſhall be abſolute: For I conceive that in the firſt part hereof, I have made it good, that this finall utmoſt controverſie ariſing betwixt the three Legiſlative Eſtates, can have no legall, conſtituted Judge in a mixed government: for in ſuch difference, he who affirmes that the people are bound to follow the Judgement of the King againſt that of the Parliament, deſtroyes the mixture into abſoluteneſſe: And he who affirmes that they are bound to cleave to the Judgement of the two Houſes againſt that of the King, reſolves the Monarchie into an Ariſtocracie, or Democracie, according as he places this finall Judgement. Whereas I take it to be an evident truth, that in a mixed government no power is to be attributed to either Eſtate, which directly, or by neceſſary conſequence, deſtroyes the liberty of the other.

Yet it is ſtrange to ſee, how in this Epidemicall diviſion of the Kingdome, the Abettors of both parts claime this unconceſsible Judgement. But let us leave both ſides pleading for that which we can grant neither, and weigh the ſtrength of their Arguments. *Sect. 2.*

Diſſolution of Arguments placing it in the King.

First, Dr. *Ferne* layes downe two reaſons, why this finall Judgement ſhould belong to the King. 1. Monarchie, ſaies he, *Sect. 5.* ſettles the chiefe power and finall Judgement in one. This *Poſition* of his can be abſolutely true no where but in abſolute Monarchies: and in effect, his book knowes no other then abſolute government. 2. Seeing ſome one muſt be truſted in every State, *It is reaſon*, ſaies he, *Sect 5. the higheſt and finall truſt, ſhould be in the higher and Supreame power.* I preſume by finall truſt, he meanes the truſt of determining theſe Supreame and finall diſagreements; and accordingly I anſwer; It is not neceſſary that any one be truſted with a binding power of Judicature in theſe caſes, for by the foundations of this government, none is, yea, none can be truſt-

ed with it; for to intend a mixed government, and yet to ſettle the laſt reſolution of all judgement in one, is to contradict their very intention. Neither in a conſtituted government muſt we diſpoſe of powers according to the gueſſe of our reaſon; for mens apprehenſions are various; The Dr. thinkes this power fittest for the King: His anſwerers judge it fitteſt for the two Houſes, and give their reaſons for it too. Powers muſt there reſide, where they are *de facto* by the Architects of a government placed: he who can bring a fundamentall Act ſtating this power in any, ſaies ſomething to the matter: but to give our conjectures, where it ſhould be, is but to provide fuell for contention.

Diſſolution of the arguments placing it in the two Houſes.

On the contrary, The Author of that which is called *A Fuller Anſwer to that Dr.* hath two maine Aſſertions placing this Judgement in the two Houſes.

1. The finall and caſting reſult of this States Judgement concerning what theſe Lawes, dangers, and meanes of prevention are, reſides in the two Houſes of Parliament, ſaies he, *p.* 10.

2. In this finall reſolution of the States Judgement, the people are to reſt, *ibidem, pag.* 14. Good Lord! What extream oppoſition is between theſe two ſorts of men? If the maintenance of theſe extremes be the ground of this warre, then our Kingdome is miſerable, and our Government loſt which ſide ſoever overcome: for I have, more then once, made it good, that theſe Aſſertions are deſtructive on both ſides: But I am rather perſwaded, that theſe Officious Propugners overdoe their worke, and give more to them whoſe cauſe they plead, then they ever intended to aſſume: Nay, rather give to every one their due: give no power to one of theſe three to cruſh and undoe the other at pleaſure: But why doth this Anſwer give all that to the two Houſes which ere while they would not ſuffer, when the Judges in the caſe of Ship-money had given it to the King; ſure when they denied it to him, they did not intend it to themſelves. 1. Hee tells us In them reſides the reaſon of the State: And that the ſame reaſon and Judgement of the State which firſt gave this government its being, and conſtitution; therefore all

all the people are to be led by it and ſubmit to it as their publique reaſon and Judgement.

I anſwer, If by ſtate, he meane the whole Kingdome: I ſay, the reaſon of the two Houſes divided from the King, is not the reaſon of the Kingdome, for it is not the Kings reaſon, who is the head and chiefe in the Kingdome. If by ſtate be meant the people, then it muſt be granted, that as farre forth as they repreſent them, their reaſon is to be accounted the reaſon of the Kingdome: and doth binde ſo farre forth as the publique reaſon of the Kingdome can binde after they have reſtrained their reaſon and will to a condition of ſubjection: ſo that put caſe it be the reaſon of the ſtate, yet not the ſame which firſt gave this Government its being: for then it was the reaſon of a State, yet free and to uſe their reaſon and Judgement in ordaining a Government: but now the reaſon of a State bound by Oath to a Government, and not at liberty to reſolve againe: Or to aſſume a ſupreme power of judging, diſtructive to the frame of Government they have eſtabliſhed, and reſtrained themſelves unto Their reaſon is ours, ſo farre as they are an ordained repreſentative body: But I have before demonſtrated, that in this frame, the Houſes could not be ordained a legall Tribunall to paſſe Judgement in this laſt caſe: for then the Architects by giving them that Judicature, had ſubordinated the King to them, and ſo had conſtituted no Monarchie. 2. He argues, the Parliament being the Court of ſupreme Judicature and the Kings great and higheſt Councell, therefore that is not to be denied to it, which inferiour Courts ordinarily have power to do, *viz.* To judge matters of right betweene the King and Subject: Yea, in the higheſt caſe of all: The Kings power to tax the ſubject in caſe of danger, and his being ſole Judge of that danger, was brought to cognizance, and paſſed by the Judges in the Exchequor. I anſwer, 1. There is not the ſame reaſon betwixt the Parliament & other courts. In theſe he King is Judge, the Judges being deputed by him, and judging by his authority; ſo that if any of his Rights be tried before them, it is his owne Judgement, and he judges himſelfe; and therefore it is fit he ſhould be bound by

by his owne ſentence: But in Parliament the King and People are Judges, and that not by an authority derived from him, but originally inveſted in themſelves. So that when the two Eſtates judge without him in any caſe not prejudged by him, it cannot be called his Judgement, (as that of the other Courts, being done by his authority) and if he be bound by any Judgment of the two Eſtates without him, he is bound by an externall power which is not his owne; that is, he is ſubordinated to another power in the State where he is ſupreme; which is contradictory. Secondly, in other Courts, if any caſe of right be judged 'twixt him and the ſubject, they are caſes of particular Rights which diminiſh not Royalty if determined againſt him. Or if they paſſe caſes of generall right, (as they did in that of Ship-money) it is but declaratively to ſhew what is by Law due to one and the other: yet their Judgement is revocable, and liable to a repeale by a ſuperiour Court, as that was by Parliament. But if the Kings Prerogatives ſhould be ſubjected to the Judgement of the two Eſtates, the King diſſenting, then he ſhould be ſubject to a ſentence in the higheſt Court, and ſo irremediable; a Judicatory ſhould be ſet up to determine of his higheſt Rights without him, from which he could have no remedy. Thus maine cauſes may bee alledged, why, though other Courts doe judge his Rights, yet the two Eſtates in Parliament (without him) cannot: and it is from no defect in their power, but rather from the eminency of it, that they cannot. If one deputed by common conſent of three, doth by the power they have given them determine controverſies betweene thoſe three, it is not for either of them to challenge right to judge thoſe caſes, becauſe one who is inferiour to them doth it. Indeed if the power of the two Houſes were a deputed power, as the power of other Courts is, this Argument were of good ſtrength: But they being concurrents in a ſupreme Court by a power originally their owne, I conceive it hard to put the power of finall Judgement in all controverſies 'twixt Him and them excluſively, or ſolely into their hands.

If

If it be demanded then, how this cauſe can be decided? and which way muſt the People turne in ſuch a contention? I anſwere, If the non-deciſion be tolerable, it muſt remaine undecided, whiles the Principle of legall deciſion is thus divided, and by that diviſion each ſuſpends the others power. If it be ſuch as is deſtructive, and neceſſitates a determination, this muſt be made evident; and then every Perſon muſt aide that Part, which in his beſt Reaſon and Judgement ſtands for publike good, againſt the deſtructive. And the Lawes and Government which he ſtands for, and is ſworne to juſtifies and beares him out in it, yea; bindes him to it. If any wonder I ſhould juſtifie a power in the two Houſes to reſiſt, and command aide againſt any Agents of deſtructive commands of the King, and yet not allow them power of judging when thoſe Agents or commands are deſtructive. I anſwere, I doe not ſimply deny them power of judging and declaring this; but I deny them to be a legall Court ordained to judge of this caſe authoritatively, ſo as to bind all People to receive and reſt in their judgement for conſcience of its authority, and becauſe they have Voted it: 'Tis the evidence, not the power of their Votes, muſt bind our Reaſon and Practice in this caſe: We ought to conceive their Votes the Diſcoveries made by the beſt eyes of the Kingdome and which in likelihood ſhould ſee moſt: But when they Vote a thing againſt the proceedings of the Third and ſupreme Eſtate, our Conſciences muſt have evidence of Truth to guide them, and not the ſole authority of Votes; and that for the Reaſon ſo oft alledged. *Sect.* 3. *What be done in ſuch a Contention?*

Chap. VIII.

The contention now in being is debated, and the readieſt meanes of Reconcilement propoſed.

THus have I (for my owne ſatisfaction, and the Conſcience of every moderate and impartiall man who will *Sect.* 1.

perule the ſame) ſet downe what I verily conceive to be the truth concerning thoſe high matters, firſt of Monarchy in generall, and then of this of England, and have given my determination concerning all the weighty Queſtions which ariſe conſiderable in the courſe of handling both: Now nothing remaines, but to reſolve the Conſcience by this precedent light what to judge of the unhappy contention, which now is broken out into open warre, betweene the King and the two Houſes. But this depending on matter of fact, is more fitly referred to every mans owne memory and Judgement; and nothing is to be done, but to acquaint himſelfe with the certaine truth of thoſe matters of fact, and then to judge therof according to the former Rules. To this iſſue the whole controverſie is brought, *That the two Houſes may lawfully reſiſt by force of Armes, all counſells and attempts of what men ſoever, tending to the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed Frame of Government, or themſelves and their Fundamentall Priviledges*; which is equivalent to the other; yea, though they are warranted by *the commands and perſonall preſence of the King himſelfe:* And that clearly, this is no reſiſtence of the higher power in our Government (ſo no force be intended or uſed againſt the Kings owne Perſon) nor doth it come within the cenſure of Saint *Paul Rom.* 13. nor any other Scripture, nor right Reaſon grounded thereon: ſo that the Conſcience aſſured hereof, hath nothing elſe to doe but to enquire whether the truth of Fact lyes either in the Affirmative of the two Houſes; *That the Kingdome was in imminent danger, the King refuſing to joyne with them for prevention of it; when they aſſumed the* Militia *for defence*: Or elſe in the Kings Negative. Much hath beene ſaid on both ſides, to draw the Conſciences of men to adherence; and many (no doubt) have judged according to their pre ingaged affections: Many Papers have I ſeene running out on both ſides to unjuſtifiable extremes, and have much holpen on the contention, by making the breach wider: yea, I have read more ſaid for them then (I am perſwaded, notwithſtanding the heat of the contention) either will ſay for themſelves, or can without the ſubverſion of the other.

Sect. 2. *A debate upon the contention.*

Now for a man to reſolve his Conſcience about the lawfulneſſe

fulneſſe or unlawfulneſſe of this Warre, the courſe is not to cry it downe indefinitely, as a Reſiſtence of Gods ordinance, nor of the higher Power: Nor to juſtifie it, becauſe the cauſe ſtood for is Religion, and expurgation of in-crept corruptions in Church and State: For all ſtanding for Religion and Reformation is not a juſtifiable cauſe to take up Armes; we having proved it before, that in this Kingdome nothing can warrant it, but apparent danger from deſtructive Counſellours and Inſtruments. Neither is it enough to demand, as Doctor *Ferne* doth *Sect 6. Who were firſt in Armes?* for the other part will by their Almanack finde Armes and Forces gathered and employed before thoſe in Hull: but that is not the reſolving enquiry; it may fall out the defenſive part may be firſt in Armes, to prevent the ruine of counſells and Plots which are apparently contrived, but not executed. The reſolving enquiry (I thinke) muſt be, *Whether at the Parliaments taking up of Armes, the Common-wealth, Frame of eſtabliſhed Government, or* (which is all one) *the Being and radicall Powers of Parliament were in apparent danger of ſubverſion?* For if ſo, then the Armes and Force uſed againſt the Counſellours or Agents thereof is proved lawfull by all the precedent diſcourſe.

Declar. of the Lords and Commons of Apr 3. 1642.

Now it will be alledged, and is in part acknowledged, that there was a grand intention and plot of altering the Government of this Kingdome, and reducing it to an arbitrary way. They will not ſay his Majeſtie was conſcious of it; but it was aimed at by many about him, and in power with him, whom it concerned to have him abſolute: By theſe men he was told that ſuch things were Law, which if they had bin ſo, then he had bin abſolute by law. They will inſtance in the long and purpoſed diſuſe of Parliaments: The arbitrary Taxes and Impoſitions on moſt of the Commodities of the Kingdome: The encroachnent of the Arbitrary Courts upon the Legall: The Impoſition of Ship-money: And the Judges opinion that the King had power to tax the ſubject in times of danger, and that he is the ſole Judge of that danger: The raiſing an Army, and forcing the ſubject to furniſh the ſame with Coat and Conduct-money. The intention of bringing

His Majeſties Anſw. to the Petit. of the houſes March 26. 1642.

bringing up the Army, to ſubvert, or at beſt, to awe and confine the Parliament to bounds of proceeding of their owne ſetting. All this before or upon the beginning of the Parliament. Then the evidences and proofes againſt the Earle of *Straffora*, His Majeſties comming with the terror of ſuch an attendance into the Houſe of Commons, to demand ſuch a number of Members. Here is a ſucceſſion of deſignes, all before the leaſt ſhew of reſiſtence: for his Majeſties comming to the Houſe was *Ianuary* 4. 1641. And the firſt Petition to his Majeſtie about the *Militia* was not till the 26. of the ſame: And their reſolution to ſettle it by themſelves, His Majeſties refuſing was not till *March* 1. And among all theſe there is not one but tends to deſtroy the frame of Government. Not that every one who had a hand in them did aime at ſuch a deſtruction; but looking on the deſigne it ſelfe (and we muſt judge of mens intentions by the nature of their Counſells and enterprizes,) every one of them ſtrikes at the foundation of this legall frame, and tends to the introduction of Abſoluteneſſe and Arbitrarineſſe in the Soveraigne.

I acknowledge, that ſince that time, there is a Plea on both ſides of danger of ſubverſion: The King withdrew from *London*: and oft affirmes that *He was driven thence*, and could no longer remaine in ſafety: And the two Houſes on the former deſignes plead a danger of ſubverſion from evill Counſellours. Both ſides now complaine of danger, and have taken up Armes to repell that danger: but theſe complaints of danger, and taking up of Armes by both ſides, was all ſince the ſucceſſion of thoſe fore-recited plots. I know what hath been intended or done ſince the taking of Armes may be all affirmed to be for defenſe againſt danger; the withdrawment of ſo many Members of both Houſes, the acts of hoſtility on both ſides, the taxing, ſpoyling, and undoing of thouſands of innocent people, all muſt be excuſed by neceſſity of Warre, and ſelf-defenſe. But what can be ſaid for all thoſe Plots and Fflaies, which were the Parliaments firſt grounds of Feares and Forces? Were they removed before they tooke up Armes, and ſo their aſſuming them made cauſleſſe and inexcuſable? You will ſay, Thoſe were the

the Plots of men in grace and authority about His Majesty, and that the illegality of those proceedings being made knowne to him, He disclaimes them, professing solemnly he hath no intent but to governe by Law; and acknowledges that the Law is the measure of his power. But they doe tell you, That they object nothing against his Majesty, they impute nothing to Him, nor use force against Him, but those destructive Counsellours, and their Abbettors which are about Him; because their danger is not from His intentions, but from theirs. It is answered, that His Majesty offers to secure them, the Lawes, Liberties, and Religion, by any Acts they shall devise to that purpose. They will tell you, Their danger is not from want of Laws to secure them, for they are secured by Law already; their danger is from Men, and their Plots and Designes to overthrow Law; and a danger of subversion of Law cannot bee secured by Law; succeeding Lawes can be no better nor stronger then former Lawes: so that where those men and their counsels are in power, whose aime hath been the subversion of Parliaments, Liberties, and Lawes; and those Doctrines remaine affirmed and maintained by the Clergie of that side, which subvert all limitations of Monarchy, make all Lawes Acts of grace, and revocable Immunities granted to Subjects; condemning for Rebellion all force used even by the Parliament it selfe, against the meanest Instruments of violence employed by the Princes Will; making the Princes Will and Gods Ordinance one and the same thing, of the same latitude; so that resistence of one is resistence of the other: such Counsellours and such Doctrines are (they say) the ground of publike danger, from which no Lawes but Justice can secure us. Publike Liberty and Power of forcible resistence of Instruments of servitude are so conjoyned, that if you make it unlawfull simply to use such power of resistence, you make it unlawfull for a People to be free.

Parliam. Remonstrance May 19. 1642

What course then can be sufficient to answere their Demands of safety, if Lawes cannot doe it? Though I incurre the censure of high Presumption, yet I will be so bold to afford

Sect. 3. *Meanes of reconcilement proposed.*

ford my opinion herein, ſubmitting it to the cenſure of every Judicious Reader; wiſhing it were worthy to be ſcanned by thoſe, in whoſe hands it is to heale our diviſions. What honeſt heart doth not bleed, to ſee the ruine of this late flouriſhing Kingdome goe on ſo faſt? Who can doe other then ſpeake his minde, who conceives hee thinkes of any thing which may conduce to Peace and the re-uniting of this divided Body? Suffer mee therefore to diſcloſe my heart in a caſe, in which every good man hath a deep intereſt. Thus then I could heartily deſire.

Petit. 1. Firſt, that the Parliament would deſire and ſeeke in this unuſuall way of Force, no more then what makes neceſſarily for their, and the publike ſecurity: for none can juſtifie force in them, any further then for ſecurity of their Priviledges, Lawes, and frame of Government.

Petit. 2. Secondly, that His Majeſty would be pleaſed (according to his gracious Reſolution, *viz. To deny onely thoſe things, the granting whereof would alter the Fundamentall Lawes, and endanger the foundation on which publike happineſſe is built:*) to condeſcend to all Acts of ſafety, both by eſtabliſhing of Lawes tending to it; and removall of Perſons of deſtructive counſells and Judgements, becauſe the danger alledged is from ſuch.

Anſw. to the Petition of Commons Jan. 28. 1641.

Petit. 3. Thirdly, that becauſe their maine feare hath been, that while his Majeſty is ſwayed by ſuch Perſons, whoſe Judgement and endevours have been for Abſoluteneſſe, the *Militia* of the Kingdome may be by them (making uſe of his Majeſties Authority) employed in bringing to paſſe their long fomented and not yet deſerted deſigne; His Majeſty would be pleaſed (for this preſent) to authorize ſuch over the *Militia* whom the Houſes ſhall approve of, not thereby diſparaging his power over the *Militia*, which by Law is inveſted in him; but ſatisfying by a condeſcent of grace, their Feares from apprehenſions of preſent danger.

Petit. 4. Fourthly, that the two Houſes (in their wiſedom) would put a difference between thoſe Perſons who were the ancient Delinquents, Contrivers and principall Agents in the former deſignes of Arbitrarineſſe; and thoſe Members of both Houſes, who ſince the Kings with-drawment and their aſſuming

aſſuming the *Militia*, have gone from the Houſes to ſerve and adhere to his Majeſty: For ſince the time that both parts have declared themſelves to be in danger, many good ſubjects and Patriots have followed the parts, from conſcience and perſwaſion of the truth of Allegations on either ſide, as their care and opinion of either Part hath lead them; (not that I can acquit them, who on any miſ-leading aſſiſt the deſtructive party, from guilt, as Acceſſaries and Inſtruments of ſo unnaturall a deſigne) but that I cannot ſee how the authority and freedome of either of the three Eſtates can chooſe but undergoe a ſhew of diſparagement, if its adherents and propugners (when it cries out of danger of ſubverſion from the other, and calls and requires their aſſiſtance) ſhould be proceeded againſt and puniſhed as Delinquents, when they profeſſe their aime hath beene no more then to preſerve the juſt rights of any of the fundamentall Eſtates of the Kingdom, without impairment of the other.

Fifthly that if poſſible, all thoſe might be re-admitted into their ſeverall Houſes, which are not guilty of the former deſignes for Abſoluteneſſe, and have nothing alledged againſt them but their adherence to the King in this diviſion, and might ſit and act ſecurely there, according to the due freedome of their Houſes. Petit. 5.

Sixthly, that his Majeſty (for the ſake of Peace, and preſent neceſſity of compoſing this diſtemperature) would be pleaſed to put himſelfe upon the Judgment and Affection of the two Eſtates ſo aſſembled in their full Bodies and ſuſpend the uſe of his *Negative voice*, reſolving to give his royall aſſent to what ſhall paſſe by the *major* part of both Houſes freely voting, concerning all matters of grievance and difference now depending in the two Houſes. I am confident, if ever this War be tranſacted without the ruine of one ſide, which will endanger, if not undoe the whole, it muſt be by ſome ſuch way of remiſſion of rigour on both ſides as I have now deſcribed: *Which the God of Peace, in whoſe hands are the hearts and counſels of men, ſpeedily and graciouſly effect for his Name ſake.* Petit. 6.

FINIS.